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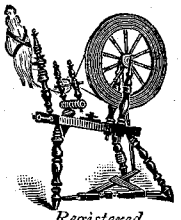

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1906

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Saving the Hudson

On the Atlantic coast New York is doing what it can to preserve the beauty of the Hudson River, which, like every great river, is not a State but a National possession. Hook Mountain stands guard on the upper western shore of Tappan Zee, the broad and beautiful expanse upon which the old church in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery looks down, on the east shore of which stands Sunnyside, and the peaceful beauty of which, as well as its slumbrous effect on the Dutch mariners, Irving has so happily commemorated. Hook Mountain geologically belongs to the Palisade structure, that striking and impressive feature in the landscape of the Hudson. The lower Palisades have been secured from the ravages of the quarrymen, and the effort is now being made to protect the upper Palisades and especially Hook Mountain. For several years past resounding detonations at morning and evening have announced to the whole countryside that the face of the mountain was being torn off. On the very eve of its dissolution the Legislature of New York, as reported in The Outlook last week, passed a bill for the extension of the Palisade Park and Park System so as to include this notable feature of Hudson River scenery. The whole community has been laid under obligations by the efforts of the Scenic and Historical Preservation Society and kindred organizations and the untiring zeal of Mr. Carpenter and Mr. Wainwright in the Legislature. The bill provides, among other things, for the preservation of Hook Mountain from further devastation without expense to the public. The land is to be purchased by funds raised by private subscription. The amount is not yet determined. The quarrymen began by asking ten millions for their holdings; this sum they later reduced, apparently without a smile, to two millions. According to the assessment rolls the property is said to be worth about $230,000. There is evidently a wide margin here for bargaining. If a price cannot be agreed upon, the Palisade Park Commission will be obliged to resort to condemnation proceedings. The immediate task of those who have urged and supported this bill is to raise whatever funds may be necessary. There seems to be very little doubt that this will be done and the Palisades preserved from further destruction.

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Sentiment versus Dollars

During the past few months the foes of philistinism have seemed to gain new courage and enterprise. The people who prize Niagara Falls for the wealth the falls can produce are not the only ones who have discovered that there is a strong and persistent body of people who have another standard of value. The corporations that are denuding the mountains of their trees are encountering an opposition with which they hardly know how to deal. A tract of seventy thousand acres of land in the White Mountains, including Mount Washington, which has been threatened by lumber companies, may form the nucleus of a forest preserve, practical steps to that end having already been taken. This is in accordance with a bill now before Congress. To the bewilderment of the spoilers, a growing number of people are recognizing such a bill as a measure not only to stop the waste of lumber wealth and to guard against destructive floods, but also to protect the beauty of the mountains. In spite of the energetic efforts of quarrymen with powerful influences, the New York Legislature has passed, as mentioned above, a bill to make

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a park of Hook Mountain on the Hudson. Public opinion on behalf of natural scenery has grown strong enough in New York State to nullify arguments couched in terms of millions of dollars. That this growing public sentiment is an appreciation of beauty in art as well as in nature is shown by the studies made recently in municipal improvement. The city of Washington has, it is hoped, been permanently rescued from those influences which bade fair to make futile the plans of l'Enfant; other cities are likewise undertaking to undo the work of a crude commercialism and to create an environment of art. Cleveland, Ohio, and St. Louis, Missouri, to mention only two, have plans well made and undertakings begun which will mean nothing that can be justified apart from the appreciation of that which is dignified and beautiful. Associations for the establishment of parks, of home gardens, of worthy civic centers, have in recent years risen and flourished. And now Boston, which in its park system has set an example in one direction, has decided that historic association invests a building with a kind of beauty worth preserving. The Park Street Church—"Brimstone Corner," as the unregenerate nicknamed it—is not one of the greatest architectural masterpieces of the world, but it is not to give way to a "sky-scraper;" its stern dignity at the corner of the Common, public opinion has decided, is a quality of more than commercial worth. The increasing regard in America for æsthetic and sentimental values is something with which lawmakers now have to reckon and to which the spirit of selfish commercialism has already been forced to yield. The principles involved in this contest between sentiment and dollars we discuss more fully elsewhere in this issue.

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The Condition of National Legislation

Of the important measures now before Congress, public opinion on the one hand and the Senatorial debates on the other have given greatest prominence to the Railway Rate Bill. Contrary to expectation, its progress in the Senate has so far made it more stringent in character than it was when it left the House. More detailed comment on the bill as a whole we must defer until it is passed by the Senate. Other bills of importance are in the meantime awaiting action. The Statehood Bill is under joint consideration by the Senate and the House. The stumbling-block in the way of its passage has been the objection to admitting Arizona and New Mexico as one State, against the vigorous opposition of Arizona. The fate of Oklahoma and Indian Territory is still bound up with that of the other two Territories. The bill for the ultimate abolition of the tariff on imports from the Philippines has not yet been taken from the committee which voted not to report it. The cowardly method which the Senate has used in dealing with this important subject ought not to be forgotten in the general interest concerning railway rates. The Pure Food Bill is still alive; it has passed the Senate and is now before the House. The converse is true of the bill for removing the tax on denatured alcohol; it is alive in the Senate. Both of these bills have strong commercial enemies, and may yet be killed or greatly weakened unless public opinion in their favor is strongly maintained. The Senate has been pottering over both the Smoot case and the bill to decide the type of canal at Panama. Delay in both cases seems to be due to disinclination to assume responsibility.

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The Paper Trust

In the issue of January 7, 1905, we gave our readers some account of the proceedings brought by the United States Government against the paper trust, a combination of twenty-five of the great paper-manufacturing concerns of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, in the General Paper Company, for the purpose of pooling their product and so maintaining prices, by preventing or at least regulating competition. In the prosecution of this suit the defendant corporations refused to exhibit their books and answer certain questions on the ground that the evidence was immaterial and would tend to incriminate them. The question thus raised being brought on

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appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, that Court decided in favor of the United States Government. As a result of this decision, the paper trust, finding that the facts respecting the combination must be given to the Court, abandoned its opposition to the proceedings of the Government, and a decree with its acquiescence has been rendered for the dissolution of the combination. The case is of interest and importance because it indicates, first, that there is power in the courts of this country to conduct a thorough investigation into any trust, and in such investigation to compel the production of the books of the defendant corporations; and, secondly, because it shows that where a combination is made for the purpose of preventing competition by the constraint of liberty in trade, it is practicable to dissolve that combination by legal proceedings.

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The Traction Problem in Chicago

The smallness of the majority for the municipal ownership ordinance at the recent Chicago election appears to have had a sobering effect on Mayor Dunne. It has led him to take hold of the municipal ownership proposition in a manner better calculated to win the confidence of conservative citizens. While as strong for municipal ownership and operation as ever, it is noticeable that he does not lay so much stress on the word immediate, which was the great slogan of the campaign in which he was elected. The first conspicuous act of Mayor Dunne after the recent election was to select as his special traction counsel Mr. Walter L. Fisher, former President of the Municipal Voters' League. In the campaign of a year ago Mr. Fisher was a supporter of Mr. Harlan, the Republican opponent of Mr. Dunne. But, like some other warm supporters of Mr. Harlan, Mr. Fisher, since the election, has believed in giving Mayor Dunne assistance rather than opposition in attempting to restore order out of the present traction chaos. Mr. Fisher, by the way, drafted the law under which Chicago is now attempting to municipalize its street railway system. It is understood that Mr. Fisher will be more than a mere legal adviser to the Mayor, and will assist in outlining and formulating the broad as well as the detailed features of traction policy. It was to be expected that such an appointment would meet with some opposition in radical quarters, but it is difficult to understand the criticism that it brought forth from extreme conservative elements like the Chicago "Tribune." It would appear that these elements are so anxious that Mayor Dunne fail that they resent the appointment to his staff of so capable a man as Mr. Fisher, even though that appointment may help to straighten out the present tangle—not by immediate municipalization, but through a settlement with the existing companies allowing them to rehabilitate the property and continue to operate it, for a time at least.

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Mayor Dunne's New Programme

In a statement recently made public, in the preparation of which Mr. Fisher doubtless had a hand, Mayor Dunne outlined with clearness the main points of his future traction policy. In the first place, he wants litigation started to determine the powers of the city under the Mueller Law and the ordinance recently approved by the people. In the second place, he wishes to make an agreement with the present companies whereby they will rehabilitate the traction properties and continue to operate them until such time as the city shall be able to purchase, the companies to stand ready to sell to the city at any time that it shall be able to pay the price. The Mayor would have an agreed valuation of the present tangible property and intangible rights of the companies, and would allow them in addition whatever new money should be expended in improving the system, this new money to be expended in accordance with plans made or approved by the city and under public audit. So long as the companies shall continue to operate they should divide the profits of the business with the city upon a reasonable basis, the city's revenues from this source to be used to create a sinking fund to be applied to paying for the

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property. If the companies will not agree to such a plan, the Mayor would authorize a new company to undertake the construction of a street railway system, turning over to this company the streets on which the rights of the old companies have expired or are terminable. This new company would act as a construction company, and operate only until such time as the city could find the means to purchase. To the possible objection that new money could not be secured upon the basis of a license revocable at any time by city purchase, Mayor Dunne offers the suggestion that bonds be issued against the property that will have a definite duration of reasonable length, but that the city still retain the right to take the system at any time subject to such incumbrance. So far as the present companies are concerned, their rights are of three kinds: (1) To maintain and operate certain lines until the city shall purchase them. (2) On some streets they still have definite term grants with a few years yet to run—in no case more than ten. (3) On other streets the companies are operating now by sufferance, and can be ordered by the city at any time to stop without any claim against the city for the purchase of their tangible property. In view of this situation the following statement of Mayor Dunne indicates the strength of the city's position: "I believe that the companies should be fairly treated in these matters so long as they themselves act with fairness toward the city. I have no desire whatever to confiscate one dollar of their property, even if I could do so. They should be given all that they are legitimately entitled to receive under the decision of the Supreme Court. It must be obvious to them, however, that any attempt upon their part to obtain more than this, by dilatory tactics or obstruction, can result only to their serious disadvantage."

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The Fight Against Race-Track Gambling

The Outlook reported, March 3, a hopeful attempt in New York to suppress the flagitious scandal of race-track gambling, protected for years by judicial construction of the statute, although prohibited by the Constitution. The uprising of the best citizens of New Hampshire against the introduction of the same infamy into that State by a new race-track, chartered in terms copied from the New York law, was reported in the same paragraph. New Hampshire has succeeded better than New York. The New Hampshire Supreme Court, in reply to inquiry by the Governor and Council, construed the terms of the New York law as not giving to betting inside of the track-fence the immunity which, while a felony outside the fence, it enjoys under the decision of the New York Court. The struggle in New York was to amend the statute so as to make the Constitutional prohibition as effective inside the fence as outside. The amendment was seconded by the churches, but opposed by the agricultural societies. These had been getting five per cent. of the gross receipts of the racing associations, and, as credibly reported, were promised an increased percentage if the amendment were defeated. So it was done to death in the legislative committee. It is gratifying to learn that the Governor's veto has killed the bill which was to give these societies their reward. The Governor sharply censures them, saying that "the largess of a quarter of a million dollars distributed annually among agricultural fairs throughout the State has created a selfish and unnatural community of interest [*i.e.*, with gamblers] which is to be deplored." There is, however, a bright side to this disappointment. The wealthy men controlling the race-tracks, who for years have been profiting by a virtual partnership in iniquity, have tardily shown desire to become more respectable. Over a year ago they curtailed the privileges of bookmakers within their grounds at the cost of some reduction of income. This year they approached the Rev. Thomas R. Slicer—who in 1904, with the late Captain Goddard, had been active in causing the Western Union Telegraph Company to discontinue its pool-room business—with a promising proposition. If he would not interest himself for the amendment, they would cut off all the news from their grounds on which the city pool-

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rooms flourished. As this seemed more certain than the strongly opposed amendment to secure a large and positive gain, Mr. Slicer deemed it practical wisdom to consent. The promise given him has been strictly fulfilled. The vigilant detectives employed by the New York Jockey Club in its present interest of making racing a "clean sport" have so restricted the news service from its grounds that the business of the city pool-rooms has been reduced to exiguous dimensions, and many are reported to talk of closing. Pool-rooms throughout the State are said to fare no better. This is clear gain for this year's campaign. Next year will see it renewed at Albany, intensified by the wrath of the present losers. For better success the churches in the rural districts must do their duty toward the agricultural societies, to which the Governor's veto message attributes the defeat of a righteous cause.

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Child Labor

A valuable addition to general information concerning child labor is contained in the just published report of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education. The report is one of the most thorough inquiries into the relations of children to our industries which has yet been made. A year ago Governor Douglas, of Massachusetts, appointed a Commission to "investigate the needs for education in the different grades of skill and responsibility in the various industries of the Commonwealth," and "how far the needs are met." As a result, twenty public hearings were held in all sections of the State. The homes of children between fourteen and sixteen years of age, now at work, and the industries which they enter, were investigated—the study embracing a total of nearly fifty-five hundred children in over three thousand homes and over three hundred and fifty separate establishments, representing fifty-five industries. The salient features of the Commissioners' conclusions are that the first years of the employment of those children who commence work at fourteen and fifteen are often waste years; that the children leave school because neither they nor their parents see any practical value in remaining there, but that a large majority of the parents could afford to keep their children in school for a year or two longer, and would do so if they had the opportunity of securing a training which would make for industrial efficiency. This latter conclusion is, of course, based on an analysis of the income of the families, their intelligence and thrift. As a result of the report, a bill is now before the Massachusetts Legislature, and there is a deservedly keen interest, not only in that State, but in others, to see the measure pushed to a triumphant conclusion during the present session. The bill's essential features are: a provision for the appointment of an unpaid Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, to be composed of five members, who shall serve for five years; the erection of independent industrial schools by municipalities under the Commission's advice and superintendence; finally, State aid in the form of a subsidy to municipalities that establish such schools. The Massachusetts press, we are glad to add, seems to be practically a unit in favor of the measure.

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The Anthracite Coal Miners

The first signed joint agreement between operators and mine workers in the anthracite coal industry since 1874 was entered into between representatives of these two parties in New York City on May 6. It provides for a continuance until March 31, 1909, of the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission of 1902 and of any action which has since been taken pursuant thereto, either by the Board of Conciliation which the award created, or otherwise, and states that "all men who have not committed violence to person or property shall be re-employed in their old positions." It was agreed that work in the mines was to be resumed as soon as practicable. The agreement was signed by representatives of the coal-carrying railroads on behalf of the coal-mining companies and by National and district officials of the United Mine Workers of America on behalf of the

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anthracite mine employees. In securing from the operators this agreement another step has been taken towards establishing the joint trade agreement in the anthracite industry for the settlement of differences between employers and employees. The position of the United Mine Workers of America has been strengthened in the estimation of the public, and even in that of representatives of the hard-coal-carrying railroads, by this satisfactory outcome of the negotiations of the past several months, and, as a result of the manner in which these negotiations have been conducted, the mine employees have really secured for themselves greater benefits than could have been won by a strike. To have led an army of one hundred and sixty thousand men and boys to the point of a strike, and then quietly to have led them back again to their accustomed employments, with so little disturbance to social order, is one of the wonders of modern organization of labor. To the best of our knowledge, this feat has never before been performed by any labor leader. The mine employees resumed work throughout the three hard-coal fields on Thursday, May 10, after a suspension continuing through forty days. The probability is that the summer months will not supply steady employment to the anthracite employees, owing to the over-supply of coal on hand, although working conditions will be much better than if there had been no suspension, as this has resulted in the return to their homes of many thousands of foreigners from southeastern European countries, thus materially reducing the labor supply. Since the suspension became effective less than five hundred thousand tons of hard coal were shipped from the region, compared with more than five million tons in April of the preceding year. The suspension in the greater part of the central competitive soft-coal fields still continues, with the larger number of mine workers idle in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. Operators in these three States in a meeting at Chicago last week adopted a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee to bring to the attention of President Roosevelt the differences between the bituminous coal operators who have declined to grant the compromise wage increase and the mine workers of those States.

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A State Keeping Order

According to credible reports, the constabulary established not many months ago by the State of Pennsylvania deserves a large share of the credit for the maintenance of order while the miners were idle. It is impossible for a labor union to control all the acts of its individual members. It can therefore be held responsible only in part for the preservation of peaceful conditions. It is primarily the business of the State to repress disorder. So far as each locality can act, it does so through the sheriff and his deputies; but in many respects the sheriff's office is necessarily inadequate. Heretofore the State of Pennsylvania has depended on two instruments—the Coal and Iron police and the State militia. The so-called police were really the agents of the corporations which had property to protect. It followed necessarily, therefore, that these semi-governmental policemen were regarded as the enemies of the wage-earners. Such an alliance between private interests and the State as such a body implied is, of course, as vicious in principle in this country as union between Church and State would be. The militia is effective, but its organization is such that it can be called out only in emergencies. It represents the citizens arming themselves to put down uprisings; it is not adapted to do the detailed police work of a large territory. Hence the State Constabulary was created. An article in the New York "Evening Post" picturesquely describes its organization, spirit, and achievements. There are four troops, each assigned to a specific territory—"fifty men for each scene of trouble covering a radius of thirty miles!" The men wear a uniform of dark gray with puttees and helmets. Their appearance is soldierly. Most of them have seen army service, many of them having been non-commissioned officers. No married men are accepted. The exciting, active, and masterful life attracts men to the service quite as much as the

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pay. The members of the constabulary, of course, have to be able to ride well, shoot straight, and accept responsibility. The writer in the "Post" gives an account of several of their encounters with the turbulent element in the mining region. In one case the sheriff telephoned to a troop headquarters for the whole force:

A sergeant and ten men were despatched on the run. There was no time to get the horses entrained, and the detail went whirling to the scene of trouble in a caboose and engine. No sooner had they arrived than the smallest man in the bunch forced his way bodily into a crowd of angry aliens and grabbed a big foreigner who had "pulled a gun." The prisoner showed fight, and his friends offered to help him. The trooper swung his stick just once, the big fellow dropped, and the crowd ran like sheep.

In another case men had succeeded in dispersing a body of deputy sheriffs, had "knifed" some men who were working in accordance with the agreement between the miners and the operators, and had formed a mob for the purpose of wrecking a colliery. A small detail of mounted constabulary arrived.

It was just about dusk. The sergeant asked the men to disperse, and they refused. He told them they would get hurt if they didn't, and they jeered at him. The sheriff pointed out two ringleaders, and the sergeant asked them to step out and give themselves up. This request was also refused. "Tell them I'm going to take them," said the sergeant to the interpreter; "and all those who want to have their heads crushed will please stay right where they are!" Then the mounted men rode into the crowd and the long locust sticks were laid right and left. The mob tried to run, but it could not get away from the horses. Franklin colliery will not forget that sight for many a day. When the troopers rode back to their barracks they had two badly damaged prisoners handcuffed and walking between them. Several more were taken the next day.

Although Pennsylvania has a special problem in its colonies of undisciplined foreigners, it has also the problems of other States in dealing with "yeggmen" and other lawless characters who cannot be controlled except in the large cities. The State Constabulary will deal with such malefactors. It will be a rural police; and if it proves successful, it ought to furnish an example that other States might follow. Wherever sparseness of population makes an urban police force impossible, such a State constabulary should be an invaluable protection.

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Gas Rates To what extent the price that may be charged for its services by a public service corporation can be determined by law will be brought before the courts of New York State and probably eventually before the Supreme Court of the United States by a suit instituted by the Consolidated Gas Company to restrain the officials who are charged with the duty of enforcing the eighty-cent rate prescribed by the order of the State Commission of Gas and Electricity and by the Act passed at the last session of the Legislature. The gas company claims that if the eighty-cent rate is enforced, it will be compelled to furnish gas without receiving a fair return upon its property invested in the business. The State Commission determined that the value of its property is $30,000 000; the Company claims that, including new and necessary investments, the total of tangible assets invested in the business amounts in value to $62,000,000. The Commissioners hold that the company is not entitled to any return upon the value of its franchise. The State Board of Tax Commissioners have assessed the franchise of the gas company at a valuation of about $24,000,000, and the company contends that since the franchise is taxed the State cannot justly refuse to the owner of this franchise a return upon its assessed value. Furthermore, by a statute passed in 1905, it was provided that the company should not charge to the city of New York more than seventy-five cents per thousand cubic feet, and by the act passed at the last session it was provided that the company should not charge to private consumers more than eighty cents per thousand cubic feet. The company contends that the effect of these acts is to deny to it the equal protection of the laws by requiring it to favor one consumer above all its other consumers; that this attempt to make for the city a special rate is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. Other provisions of the law are also called in question: its failure to establish any

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standard by which the Commission is to be governed in fixing the price of gas throughout the State, its requirement that gas in the mains shall reach a certain prescribed pressure, and the penalties it prescribes for violation of its provisions, which are alleged to be excessive and unreasonable. The Outlook congratulates the country on this lawsuit, whichever way it may be decided. If the courts shall hold that the Legislature may regulate the prices to be charged by public service corporations, there will be established an effective protection against despotic monopolies; if it decides that the Legislature has no such power, a great impulse will be added to the movement for municipal ownership of all lighting, water, and transportation systems.

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The Hampton Anniversary

The thirty-eighth anniversary of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, the parent of Tuskegee, brought together, May 8, as usual, from both South and North, some of those who are doing patriotic service for the wise solution of race problems. The addresses were highly encouraging. Dr. Kent, of the University of Virginia, declared that "the judgment reached tardily by many, and not reached at all by some, but held firmly by the overwhelming majority of thoughtful men and women in the South," is that the negro must be educated. That school funds are not to be divided, as has been proposed, in proportion to the taxes collected from each race, he also affirmed to be the conclusion now reached beyond any reasonable probability of reversal. It is the white man's burden, he said, and voluntarily assumed as an act of justice. Governor Swanson, of Virginia, said that his State had expended seven million dollars on the education of the negro, with good results, especially at Hampton. The Hon. Roswell Page, of Virginia, said that the emancipation of the slave in 1863 had been the emancipation of the white man also. The non-slaveholding white under the old régime had little chance to rise either politically or socially. Emphasizing the fundamental importance of upright character, he said to the students, "I congratulate you on being negroes, and of negro descent. Keep the strain pure, and become a healthy, hardy, law-abiding people." An address of rare beauty and power was given by Dr. Peabody, of Harvard, upon the unveiling of a bronze bust of the founder of the Institute, General Armstrong, "whom some of us must think," said he, "the most Christlike person we have ever known." Hampton is for Indian as well as negro students, and it is no longer needful to invite the Indian; he now comes as an applicant. Of the eighty-six living graduates of that race only one has turned out "bad," and four "poor." At several of the Indian agencies students returned from Hampton "have proved to be of political as well as ethical value, supplying the places made vacant in civil affairs by the deposition of the chiefs." A specimen of the high-grade work done at Hampton is reported on a Government order for shell-caps. The pieces, weighing eighty pounds each, required a thread cut on each end with only $\frac{3}{1000}$ of an inch leeway allowed. Out of a lot of eleven hundred pieces only three were rejected by the Government inspector. The outlay on Hampton would have been profitable had Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee been its sole product; but it has sent forth many hundreds of men and women with his spirit, doing his work on a smaller scale. With a present deficit of $38,000, its pressing need is larger supplies for its patriotic work. Its noble Principal, Dr. Frissell, should not be obliged to spend time and strength in raising money. Here, as well as at Tuskegee, the need of a large endowment cannot long fail to be recognized and met. "The Southern Workman" for May, to be obtained from Hampton for ten cents, is a permanently valuable as well as highly interesting pamphlet, which The Outlook commends to its readers.

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The Music Festival

In the account of the Cincinnati Festival last week, by a slip of the pen, "Die Walküre" was substituted for "Die Götterdämmerung." The close of "Die Walküre"

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would hardly be appropriate for a memorial concert. The Wagner selections performed in memory of Mr. Thomas were the so-called "Siegfried Funeral March" and the final scene of the drama containing Brünnhilde's lament and ending with her immolation. It is interesting to note that Mr. Thomas put one or both of these selections on nine of the sixteen Festival programmes which he conducted. Indeed, at every Festival Mr. Thomas had from four to sixteen Wagner selections on the programme, averaging nearly ten to each Festival. When it is remembered that the Festival was established in 1873, while Wagner's music was still a cause of contention among musicians, it can be seen how brave a faith Mr. Thomas had in the sound judgment of the people. Bach, too, whose music is not ordinarily regarded as popular, appears on every programme but one. And Brahms, who is even yet but ill understood by many Wagnerites, was early introduced by Mr. Thomas to Festival audiences. The first concert of the Festival this year, therefore, which included Bach, Wagner, and Brahms, was a tribute to Mr. Thomas not only as a man, but also as a musical leader of catholic taste and of belief in the essential soundness of the popular taste.

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Congregational Home Missions

The eightieth annual meeting of the Congregational Home Missionary Society was held last week at the First Congregational Church in Oak Park, Illinois. This church, of which the Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., is the pastor, was organized forty years ago under Home Missionary auspices, and is to-day one of the strongest and most progressive churches in the Middle West. The reorganization of the Society proposed a year ago was carried into effect by the adoption of comprehensive amendments to the constitution. The effect of the change is to convert the National society into what is practically a federation of the State societies. The new President is the Rev. Charles S. Mills, D.D., of St. Louis, who is chiefly to be credited with working out the plan of reorganization. The report of the Treasurer shows an increase of seventy thousand dollars over the preceding year in gifts from the living, and an addition to the invested funds of the Society of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The shrinkage in legacies is, however, so large that the debt of the preceding year remains substantially the same. Congregationalists feel that they must do more in the cities. While two-thirds of the population is rural, four-fifths of their churches are rural. To reach the city multitudes Dr. Josiah Strong urged the planting of "church-settlements—socialized churches, thoroughly equipped to minister daily to the thousand needs of the people." In a similar vein the Rev. Charles Stelzle, Superintendent of the Department of Church and Labor in the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, affirmed that "the Church must have a message for the every-day problems of workingmen;" must second "their brave endeavor to raise their standard of living;" must carry on an evangelism which "shall not stop short of the complete emancipation of the workingman." Such utterances fairly represent the new spirit, the socialized conception of the Gospel, that is now in the air. In another address Professor Sanders, formerly of the Yale Divinity School, exhibited the opportunities opening in "the newest West." Here, in consequence of the opening of more than twenty Indian reservations, the introduction of new methods of farming into districts previously given up to cattle ranges, the extending of irrigation into arid lands, and the expansion of railway systems into regions hitherto undeveloped because inaccessible, vast sections of country are about to witness the formation of new communities of agricultural home-builders. Here, said he, the work so well done in what was "the West" a half-century ago must be repeated; the Church is called to rise to the greatness of a similar opportunity in Christian pioneering. In his presidential address upon "The Home Missionary Challenge" Dr. Henry C. King, President of Oberlin College, emphasized the demand which our vast material development makes upon the churches to parallel it by an expansion of moral energy and an en-

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richment of spiritual life, as the condition of worthful and enduring National greatness. During the past year the Society has had in its service over sixteen hundred missionaries, of whom nearly two hundred have preached in twelve foreign tongues. Four-fifths of the Congregational churches of the country are of missionary planting. Within the last quarter-century these have donated to various branches of Congregational work a larger sum than the total outlay on home missions during these eighty years.

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Disarmament The English House of Commons has adopted without division a resolution offered by a Labor member that the growth of the expenditure for armaments was excessive, and calling upon the Government to take steps to reduce the drain on the national income, and, to that end, to press the question of reduction of armaments by international agreement on the forthcoming Hague Conference. This fact is one which is at once both less important and more important than it appears. England's navy makes her now mistress of the seas; her treaty with Japan furnishes a *quasi* guarantee of her peaceful occupancy of present possessions in the East; her insular position protects her from military assault at home. These facts combine to discount her influence in appearing as an advocate for lessened military expenditures. She has no need for a large standing army or an enlarged navy. On the other hand, the fact that this resolution was introduced by a labor leader and represents the interests and sentiments of the laboring population in every country is of great political significance. Before the Hague Tribunal was constituted, in a discussion concerning the feasibility of an international supreme court, and in reply to the contention that the decisions of such a court could not be enforced, Professor Clark, of Columbia University, in a very suggestive address at the Lake Mohonk International Arbitration Conference, pointed out the two facts that, on the one hand, war was impossible without the co-operation of the labor class, and, on the other, that if adequate provision was made for national protection without war, the labor class would refuse their co-operation. The Outlook cannot doubt that the vague and veiled allusions to the attitude of the Liberals and Socialists in Germany and in France point to the conclusion that the labor vote throughout the civilized world will demand the reduction of military expenses quite as fast as statesmen and publicists can contrive more rational methods of settling international difficulties without resort to war. We anticipate that a proposition, not for disarmament, but for a reduction of armaments, will be brought before the next Hague Conference, and that it will have the cordial support of England and America, probably of France and Italy, and not impossibly of Russia, with perhaps opposition, veiled rather than avowed, from Germany and Austria-Hungary.

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The Czar and the Duma The democratic movement registered a striking and dramatic climax in St. Petersburg on Thursday of last week, when the Russian National Assembly was opened with the splendor characteristic of Russian court ceremonials. The Emperor, Empress, and Empress Dowager, so closely guarded that they were scarcely visible to their subjects, came up from the palace at Peterhof by yacht, and passed into the wide marble hall of St. George in the Winter Palace, where they were awaited by a great assembly made brilliant by a dazzling display of military and official uniforms and impressive by the presence of a solid body of more than a hundred peasants, unawed and self-respecting, ranged along the hall on the left of the throne. Some of these peasants crossed themselves during the long prayers which opened the ceremony, none of them joined in the applause with which the courtiers and officials on the right of the throne greeted the Czar's speech, and few of them made the customary deep obeisances when he left the hall. The Czar spoke very briefly, and his address was confined to paternal generalities. "Divine Providence," he said, "has laid upon me the care of the

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welfare of the fatherland, and has moved me to summon representatives elected by the people to co-operate in the work of framing laws;" he welcomed them as the best men of the Empire; he believed that, although their tasks were difficult and complicated, they would be inspired and united by the ardent wishes of the country, and he promised on his part that he would "unswervingly uphold the institutions which I have granted in the firm conviction that you will devote all your powers to the self-sacrificing service of the fatherland, to a clear presentation of the needs of the peasants, which lie so close to my heart, to the enlightenment of the people and to the development of the country's well-being. You must realize," he said, "that for the great welfare of the State, not only is liberty necessary, but also order as the basis of laws." At the close of the address the Czar returned to his yacht and to his palace at Peterhof, not having set foot in any public place in the city.

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The First Session

This ceremony was significant only as registering the concession of the Czar, and, aside from the publication of manifestoes, was the first formal step towards the transfer of the rule of Russia to her own people. The real work began when the Duma, the lower house of the National Assembly or Parliament, assembled in Tauride Palace, where there were no barricades. Russia has never seen the coming together of such an assemblage of four hundred and fifty men as met that afternoon. The vast majority of them were strangers to one another, and they were assembled for the first time in the history of the empire to represent the Russian people. There was an address of welcome on behalf of the Emperor by Baron Frisch, President of the Legislative Committee of the Imperial Council. The oath was taken and the roll of membership signed, after which the voting for the President began, each member dropping into a voting urn the name of his chosen candidate. Professor Muromtzev, the senior member of the body from Moscow, was elected, and the result was received with hearty cheers. When the President's bell rang, the House immediately came to order, and no other business of importance was transacted. There were, however, two significant incidents: Ivan Petrunkevitch, who, as the leader of the Tver zemstvoists, insisted a dozen years ago, in the Czar's presence, that there must be a constitution, now demanded annesty for those who had struggled to secure this national assembly, and received an ovation; and the Government officials were ordered to retire by the President of the Duma, and very unwillingly obeyed. Great care had evidently been taken, not only by the Government, but by the leaders of the popular parties, to avoid any disorder. The question of amnesty is evidently foremost in the thought of all liberals of all schools, but there has been no stampede of delegates, and matters have been kept well in hand. The Duma is, however, in no mood for evasion or trifling, and there is very little doubt that the Czar will ultimately be brought to book by the giant whom he has let out of the bottle.

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The Position of Count Witte

Among the gorgeous officials who stood near the Czar during this brilliant ceremonial, none was more conspicuous or more solitary than Count Witte, the ex-Prime Minister, who has been attempting, with only partial success, to guide the ship of State across the stormy seas of this revolutionary era. The retirement of this able though by no means unselfish man is involved with the mystery which shrouds everything at the court at St. Petersburg—a mystery due to the secrecy of autocratic methods, to the presence of contending parties in the court, and to the vacillation of the Emperor. The most trustworthy interpretation of that retirement, which comes from authoritative sources, is substantially in accord with the popular impression that it is a blow to the Liberal cause, and that the appointment of his successor is a victory for the reactionaries. Count Witte has fought every inch of ground since he became the Czar's Minister; he has been opposed at every turn by the political ring euphoniously called the Autocracy; surrounded

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by enemies relentless and unscrupulous; and compelled to reconquer every day in the mind of a vacillating ruler territory on which he has placed his feet the day before. The various decrees issued by the Czar, which together constitute a kind of bill of rights, or a parliamentary draft of a constitution for the Russian people, were undoubtedly inspired by Count Witte. The "fundamental laws" promulgated by the Czar two weeks ago, which, in effect, withdraw many of the most important concessions made by the decrees, were the work of Count Witte's enemies and of the movement for representative government. Those laws were probably promulgated over Count Witte's head and in spite of his protest. In spite of the peaceful and in a way promising opening of the Duma, all the elements of a tragedy are in the situation at St. Petersburg: an aroused people determined to have their rights; a stolid and ignorant peasantry who may be swept by gusts of destructive passion; a small, resolute group of revolutionists eager to take any opportunity to overthrow the existing order; a large group of highly organized officials determined to preserve that order, and stupidly blind to the signs of the times around them; and a well-meaning and vacillating ruler who changes his mind from day to day.

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Niagara Again

A well-known engineer who is familiar with the remarkable industrial development of the water power at Niagara Falls argues on another page of this issue of The Outlook in behalf of the power companies and their work. We hope Mr. Buck's article will be widely read, because it appears to us that the case of the power companies cannot be put more clearly and forcibly than he states it. If his argument is answerable, the case for his side is lost without further debate. We think it is answerable.

With the frankness and exactness of a man trained to deal with scientific problems, Mr. Buck strips the controversy of its incidentals and non-essentials and goes right to the heart of the question. The transformation of Niagara Falls from a spectacle of natural beauty known and admired all over the world into a huge electrical engine whose sole function shall be to run dynamos, turn machinery, and produce metals and chemicals, "broadly speaking, is solely the physical expression of the law of supply and demand." At present the demand is such that only a part of the water of the Falls is necessary to supply it. But Mr. Buck frankly admits the indisputable fact that, if the American people decide to treat Niagara Falls merely as an economic water power, the power plants will eventually divert all the water to their use rather than fail in supplying the needs of the country for aluminum, carborundum, calcium-carbide, and other valuable products of electro-chemical processes.

Is the prime object of a man or of a nation to amass all material wealth possible by the cheapest methods inventable? or have beauty, imagination, poetry, painting, and music, which spring from wealth of the spirit, any demand upon us which we are bound to supply? Shall we preserve the Yosemite Valley, the Yellowstone Park, the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, the ancient and splendid redwood groves of California, the Palisades of the Hudson, the wooded peaks of the White Mountains, for the enrichment of the beauty of this continent, or shall we destroy them in order to get the lumber, the granite, the cement, the silver ore, and the paving-stone which they contain? Beside this great fundamental question and this ever-present conflict between the material and the spiritual needs of man, discussion as to whether the citizens of Buffalo are paying any less for their street-car fares or their lights than the citizens of New York (although as a matter of fact they are not), or whether aluminum shall be such and such a price per pound, or to what degree a divergence of thirty-five per cent. of the energy of the Falls will affect their beauty, is now immaterial and beside the mark.

It seems hardly necessary for The Outlook to say that it believes that every man, woman, and child in the country should be well housed, well clothed, and

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well fed; that the material wants of American citizens should be so well supplied that the physical powers of each individual may be developed to the highest possible state of perfection. For there cannot be sound hearts and sound minds without sound bodies. But this is not all a country needs. It needs books, pictures, poetry, philanthropy, sympathy, a love of nature, the education of the mind and spirit as well as the maintenance of the body in comfort and health. If there were any marked tendency of the American people to neglect material welfare for the pursuit of æsthetic beauty, it might be very well to call public attention to the fact that a hundred millions of dollars run to waste every year over the crest of Niagara Falls. But, as a matter of fact, the tendency has been during the last two centuries quite in the other direction. The primordial necessity of clearing forests, planting prairies, founding villages and cities, blazing foot trails, building wagon roads, constructing railways, protecting women and children on the frontier from the ravages of wild beasts, spinning wool and weaving clothing to protect themselves from cold and tempest, has given Americans, relatively speaking, very little time for the cultivation of the beauty of nature and the arts. We do not need to be urged to make money out of our natural resources; we do need to be urged to protect some of our natural resources from the corroding and destructive side of money-making. It is an economic waste for a man to spend his time and money in growing a rose garden in front of his house—cabbages and potatoes pay better; or to put a beautiful Persian rug on his library floor—linoleum can be washed more easily and costs less; or to hang a landscape by Claude Monet or George Inness on his wall—he can put the five thousand dollars which such a picture costs into United States Steel bonds, thus supporting a very worthy and useful industry, and adding to his own income two hundred and fifty dollars a year. But it is not a real waste to collect and possess these objects of beauty. No man has a right to spend more money on things of beauty than he can afford; no village ought to construct and maintain a public park when its school-house is in an unsanitary and tumble-down condition. But, fortunately, this country can very well afford not merely to maintain its parks, its public waterways, and its mountain preserves, but it can afford to add to them.

To our mind, the controversy over Niagara Falls is one of the most important of its kind that has ever demanded public attention in this country, since it is a test case. When the case is thoroughly understood by the people at large, we have every confidence that they will quietly and calmly decide to preserve Niagara Falls from the encroachments of commercial industry, and will devote themselves, if necessary, with scientific skill and patience to the discovery of some other means of supplying the cheap economic power which we trust some day will make electric lighting and street-car travel and useful manufacturing much more general and much less costly than the managers of the Niagara power companies have been able or willing to make them.

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Carl Schurz

The death of Carl Schurz removes an interesting and influential figure from American public life, one whose migration to America must be put to the credit side of the immigration account. Agitator, editor, teacher, soldier, United States Senator, Secretary of the Interior, and always a finished orator and writer, Carl Schurz's career, from his birth at Cologne, Germany, to his death in New York, was an eventful, varied, and dramatic one. The freshly opened grave of such a man is not the place for a judicial estimate of his character. It must suffice to say that all his faults as a publicist grew out of a temperament too uncompromisingly idealistic. This made it difficult for him to work in organizations, for always the platform of the organization is a compromise between extremes. To this is to be attributed the fact that his employments as editor were always short-lived; that as United States Senator he was more interesting than influential; and

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that as Secretary of the Interior he left no such mark upon the policy of the Government as was left by William C. Whitney in his reorganization of the navy, or by John Hay in his transformation of diplomatic methods. Mr. Schurz's best service to the country was rendered by his voice and by his pen. As writer and orator he was often keenly critical, sometimes genuinely inspirational; and both as a critic and an inspirer he rendered great and needed service to his country. He did much by his criticisms to expose public abuses, and by his ideals to elevate National ideals. As civil service reformer he did much to improve our archaic and corrupt civil service and to put it upon a higher plane. As an independent before the days of independence, he did much to promote in the Nation the spirit which puts country above party, and so to destroy the despotic power of the boss and the machine. Critics might question the practicability of his methods, as The Outlook has sometimes done, but no one could question the unselfishness of his devotion to his adopted country, the non-partisan temper of his critical judgments, and the nobility of his political ideals. "You may tell me," he said in a speech in Faneuil Hall years ago, "that my views are visionary, that the destiny of this country is less exalted, that the American people are less great than I think they are or ought to be. I answer, ideals are like stars; you will not succeed in touching them with your hands. But, like the seafaring man on the deserts of water, you choose them as your guides, and following them you reach your destiny."

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Lawlessness and Labor Unions

If it is desirable to see ourselves as others see us, it is also desirable to see others as they see themselves. This is what a contributor does for our readers in his article, on another page, on the Western Federation of Miners. This account is sympathetic; that is, it is written by one who has endeavored to understand how these miners feel and what they think, and to give our readers such an account of their principles and spirit that they will themselves declare it to be fair. This is a valuable service to render to the community, and we here express our appreciation of the value of our contributor's service.

But to understand principles as their advocates understand them is one thing; to approve them is another. We are glad to be able to understand the principles of the Western Federation of Miners as they understand them, whether we approve them or not. In fact, some of them we approve; others of them we disapprove. But we wholly disapprove the spirit in which the Federation appears at times to have acted, and we vigorously condemn the acts of violence which are charged against it.

This is a free country, and there is no *opinion* which may not be freely advocated. Error is dangerless so long as truth is left free to combat it. If any group of men disbelieve in republican principles, they are at liberty to persuade their fellow-citizens, if they can, to make the country an autocracy; if they disbelieve in the wages system, they are at liberty to argue for State Socialism; if they disbelieve in any organization, political or industrial, they may argue for anarchy. But though all opinions are free, all *practices* are not. So long as this is a Republic, no political machine has a right to introduce autocracy by underhand means; so long as the industrial system is a wages system, no labor union has a right to introduce anarchy by underhand means.

The Western Federation of Miners have a perfect right to argue in the open for anarchy; but they have no right to live under the wages system and practice anarchy. This is what they are accused of doing. The courts alone can decide whether the accusation is true or not. But if it is true, their practice of anarchy is no less a crime in a free country than in a despotic one. Order, which is said to be heaven's first law, is no less the first law of earth. Such disorder ought to be no less sternly repressed in a Republic than in an autocracy. And it will be. The recent

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wise and timely message of the Governor of Pennsylvania promising the people of that State to maintain order at any hazard, the recent criminal conviction in the courts of New York City of two union dynamiters and their sentence to considerable terms in prison, are indications of the fact that the American people know how to distinguish between the advocacy of anarchy and the practice of anarchy.

Nor is the practice of lawlessness justified or excused by the fact that Colorado is not Suffolk, England. Crimes of violence may be common in border States; the better reason why they should be vigorously prosecuted and sternly repressed. When agents of the Colorado government put representatives of the Western Federation of Miners in a train and dropped them across the border in New Mexico, The Outlook condemned the lawless proceeding. We said then and we say now that the lawlessness charged against the miners afforded no justification for the lawlessness perpetrated by State authorities. As little does the lawlessness perpetrated by State authorities justify the lawlessness charged against the miners. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness, and mother and child are justly subject to the same condemnation. Violence by one faction is no cure for violence by the other.

Whether Haywood and Moyer were guilty of the murder of the ex-Governor of Idaho we do not know; we have no means of knowing. That question can be determined only by a fair legal trial before an impartial tribunal. Such a trial is due both to them and to the community in which they live. The demand that they be acquitted without trial and the demand that they be condemned without trial are equally preposterous and equally anarchic. But the killing of the ex-Governor of Idaho was a cruel and cowardly murder; and it was equally cruel and cowardly whether he was the victim of private revenge or of a secret tribunal. And if the murderer can be discovered, he should be held as a murderer, convicted as a murderer, and hanged as a murderer, in equal disregard of appeals for clemency because he acted for a secret order and of threats of vengeance because the secret order is powerful and vengeful. In a case of cold-blooded assassination like this, clemency to the assassin, if he can be found, is cruelty to the community.

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Vox Populi Vox Dei

Twelve years ago Ivan Petrunkevitch, a Russian Liberal and the leader of the zemstvo, or provincial assembly, from the province of Tver, presented an address of loyalty from that body to Nicholas II. The speaker informed his Majesty that Russia was ready for a constitution and parliamentary government. The Czar replied that the desire expressed was a senseless dream. Nine months ago, however, the Liberals were able to constrain the Czar to promise a national Assembly to the Russian people. The reactionaries of the court, church, and army prophesied from that day to Thursday of last week that a Russian parliament would never be permitted to meet. But it did meet.

On Thursday of last week Nicholas II., by opening for the first time in Russian history a national Parliament, gave an impressive and dramatic contradiction to his answer to Ivan Petrunkevitch, and to the prophecies uttered by the enemies of Liberalism, and the honor of making the first speech in that Parliament appropriately fell to the man who, at the beginning of the present reign, was brave enough to claim, on behalf of the Russian people, their right to constitutional government. He declared last week that the first words to be pronounced in a national assembly of representatives of the Russian people should be a demand for the amnesty of those who had fought for freedom. It is not surprising that the veteran orator raised his hearers to a frenzy of enthusiasm. It must not be supposed, however, that, sturdy in his defense of popular rights encroached upon by the reactionaries, this venerable tribune of the people dreams of license rather than of liberty, law, and order. He said recently, speaking on the agrarian question:

A single agitator, promising the socialization of State and private lands, can inoculate

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a thousand muzhiks [peasants] with a blind passion to appropriate land without regard to rights of others, and can accomplish harm which a generation of good government could not counteract. The crying need of the hour is a Liberal Ministry to begin the realization of social reforms toward the betterment of the conditions of the peasants and workmen, but drawing a firm line between reforms which can be realized and Socialist dreams, and hence gradually weaning the people away from the paths of agitation and discontent.

But reactionaries as well as revolutionaries must take warning, even if the first have already hardened the monarch's heart. Only a few days before Parliament met, by the publication of the so-called "fundamental laws," he not only reserved the right to conclude loans independently should Parliament refuse to pass the budget, but also prohibited that body from interfering with the disposition of Crown lands, which far exceed in area the peasants' holdings. "Fundamental laws" to the contrary, the Czar must know better than any one that he will imperil his dynasty if he refuses to countenance a reasonable and adequate plan of agrarian relief proposed in Parliament, for the muzhiks would speedily be reinforced by the proletariat organizations—the only militant force capable of fighting the Government by means of a strike.

At Portsmouth last summer Sir Donald Wallace, who had been the mentor of Nicholas II., said of him, "As an autocrat he is a failure. As a constitutional monarch he should be a success." Despite his vacillations as an autocrat, the present Czar has the world's hearty good wishes for an intelligent, liberal, and consistent policy in his new rôle of constitutional monarch. Despite the attitude of mutual suspicion, which constituted the jarring note at the opening of Parliament, we still hope that the foundation of a sincere understanding between monarch and people was laid on Thursday of last week. It is true that the Russian Parliament's power is restricted. But the delegation of the slightest power to the people means the thin end of the wedge of popular responsibility, signifying a proportionate abdication of autocracy.

Thus the Czar himself was not the most significant figure on that historic day last week. If the Emperor's act was a resignation of some degree of his sovereign power into the hands of the people, the demand of the people's representative, still claiming, as he has long claimed, not shadowy but legitimate rights, was an act equally striking and significant with that of the monarch. The man whom twelve years ago Nicholas II. denounced is to-day foremost as representing the great body of Russian Liberals, and his speech is the first Parliamentary affirmation of the fact that for the future Russia's real ruler will ultimately be, not a sovereign Czar governing absolutely and autocratically and by "divine right," but the Russian people itself, governing also by divine right. Four-fifths of that people's representatives belong to the Constitutional Democratic majority—a Liberal party which stands for a constitutional monarchy with full parliamentary rights, a responsible Ministry chosen from the parliamentary majority, general suffrage, and equality before the law for the people. This is their idea of *vox populi vox Dei.*

As if to make the event more pregnant with possibility and potentiality, the opening of the Russian Parliament occurred on the anniversary of the meeting at Versailles of the States General in 1789. The result of that meeting was the limiting of the monarch's power, his ultimate dethronement, and the establishment of a French Republic, soon succeeded by reactions of the most pronounced type. The French Republic of to-day is, however, the outcome of that great stirring of France. If the Russian people would one day secure a genuine popular government, and move steadily towards it without check, their Parliament should listen neither to the reactionaries nor to the revolutionaries. So far, in the Duma's first session, as reported, the Russian parliamentarians have done much to make the outlook hopeful, because they have apparently shown more fitness for their functions than was displayed by the members of the French States General which met May 10, 1789. May 10, 1906, therefore, may prove to be an even greater date in history.

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An American Novel

In "The Virginian" Mr. Owen Wister made a very effective sketch of an American type so essentially of a brief period of time and a limited area of country that it carried with it a suggestion of the melodramatic, and until this story appeared it was never lifted out of that slough of cheap sentiment. The novel was written with clear intelligence, a firm hand, and an understanding heart, and is likely to hold its place among those studies of character which are also works of art. About "The Virginian," as about the shorter stories of which it was a kind of apotheosis, there was an atmosphere of realism and a clear-cut definiteness of style which contributed to their effectiveness at an apparent loss of richness, warmth, flexibility of imagination, and style. It was once said of the style of those earlier stories that "it was as tight as a drum." Every stroke was resonant, but a certain hardness seemed to underlie its resonance. In "Lady Baltimore" (Macmillan) Mr. Wister has not only made a radical change of field, but a decisive change of manner. For broad handling of the brush on a large canvas he has substituted the most delicate cabinet work with a camel's-hair brush. No social contrast could have been more broad and vivid than that between the life of the cowboy on the plains at the moment when the nomadic was beginning to pass into the pastoral, and the old social life of Charleston in the afterglow of a social order destroyed forty years ago. The divergence of manner between these two stories is a triumph of art; the earlier style fits the earlier story as if the two were born together; the later style seems to exhale from the later story.

The more the adaption of the form to the substance of "Lady Baltimore" is studied, the more clear does its delicate and sensitive art reveal itself. Mr. Wister set out to show the form and pressure of a social order, to bring out a group of ideals which are conveyed in modulations of the voice, shades of manner, inherited customs, habits of thought; those "airy nothings" which are quite beyond the observation of the unsympathetic or unimaginative, but as expressive of character as the exquisite fabrics which are almost diaphanous and can be woven only by the most expert skill. If Mr. Wister had told his story as a narrative in the usual form, the nice shading, the subtle touches, the elusive indirection by which ideas and emotions are suggested without being defined, would have been beyond his reach; the device of letting an observer tell the story in a quiet, leisurely fashion not only fits the form to the background but makes room for those comments, bits of characterization, notes by the way, unforced moralizations, which carry the charm, the poetry, the persistent idealism, of a non-commercial society. Those who have drunk deeply of the strong, crude wine of life decanted by many modern novelists will find the delicate flavor, the fragrant aroma, of this old wine too mild; but those who retain a taste for the rare, the old, and the ripe will find in this story refreshment of spirit.

It is quite possible that Charleston will dislike this study of its old-time picturesqueness, this unveiling of the secret of its charm; for groups of people rarely take kindly to the most friendly portraiture; but it is quite certain that no American society has ever found a more penetrating and sensitive historian. The secret of the dignity and refinement of the old order, which fill the air of this book as the roses in the garden scent the air in Charleston, lay in its community of interests, its long intimacy of relations, its seclusion, and the absence of the commercial spirit. There was leisure for manners, and without leisure the fine art of social intercourse is as impossible as the carving of statues without marble. There was a keen sense of personal honor, which is the highest characteristic of an aristocracy of blood, as honesty is the highest characteristic of a commercial aristocracy; there was a sense of loyalty to persons which made the presence or absence of wealth a matter of indifference; there was a generous and easy hospitality which held all the resources of a community available for pleasure and entertainment; there was a general understanding that differences must be left at the thresh-

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old, and that in social relations the first duty was to be agreeable; there were the absence of pretension and the simplicity of manner to be found only in non-commercial societies.

These ideals, nourished and guarded by successive generations, formed in Charleston a society the notes of which were distinction of manner, pride of race, courage, courtesy, and hospitality. It was a provincial, in a sense a local, society; it bred an intensity of conviction which brooked no difference and a sense of superiority which kept it apart not only from the State but from the South; it was narrow; it was content to stand outside the current of the modern world; and it went down in the storm which it had done more than its share to invoke.

The traditions of this society, so full of charm in this hurrying commercial epoch, Mr. Wister has preserved as he has conveyed the charm of the city, its quiet streets, its fragrant world of gardens, its old houses, its air of ancient importance, its dignity and refinement. It is not so much a story as an episode in a story which Mr. Wister tells with such amplitude of leisure that he conveys the impression of a whole community and envelops it in the atmosphere of a whole history. He touches the defects, the limitations, the arrested unfolding of the old social order; but he treats it with a respect, intelligence, and affection that show how fully he shares the best in its spirit, the truest in its ideals.

And he invests it with a deeper significance by setting it in contrast with the new social order fast coming into shape in the untrained hands of the class whom he happily characterizes as "the yellow rich"—the men and women who have secured wealth without securing culture, and whose vast fortunes, by a deep irony of which they are unconscious, form a golden background against which their own vulgarity stands out with startling distinctness. This group, reinforced by a few men and women who sell their better breeding to the highest bidder, Mr. Wister touches with a hand as caustic as Mrs. Wharton's, but with this advantage over "The House of Mirth"—that he sets his vulgarians over against people of the highest distinction of ideal and manner. The "yellow rich" belong to no section or country; they are brought to the surface of modern life everywhere by the vast opportunities of rapid fortune-making.

There is a ringing note of patriotism in "Lady Baltimore" which is the more welcome because it is so rarely heard in the writing of cultivated Americans. A kind of neutral cosmopolitanism which has no roots in any soil has enervated a great deal of our literature and made our friends across the sea wonder whether there are any Americans left; any men or women whose affection for the soil on which they were born and the things for which its history stands has any fire or passion. From this anæmia, which has fallen like a blight on many Americans whose intellectual life is derivative and sensitive rather than vigorous and creative, Mr. Wister is entirely free. He sees his own country with level eyes, and his scorn of the society which cheapens it has a touch of fire in it; the love of America as a home of the spirit and not as a gigantic chance to make money possesses him like a passion. The flamboyant note of crude nationality, still heard from time to time but fast dying into silence, has nothing in common with this clear definition of social ideals, this touch of irony on cheap and vulgar aims and manners. "Lady Baltimore" is a wholesome story for our time; it deals with a side of life which our novelists have largely forsaken for more dramatic themes; it is the best interpretation of the spirit of the Old South that has been made; it is a true American novel in subject, spirit, and atmosphere.

I Believe

Not only Dr. Crapsey has been on trial; all who use the familiar Apostles' Creed are on trial with him. The Creed itself is on trial. What do we mean when we unite in saying, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord"? Is this a definition of philosophy or a confession of faith? Is its use an academic exercise or an act of worship? the recitation of

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a lesson or the expression of a life? What do we who call ourselves Christians mean by "I believe"?

There are four attitudes of mind possible toward truth. The first attitude is that of contemptuous indifference; the attitude of jesting Pilate when he asked, What is truth? and went out without waiting for an answer. To this Roman soldier the Man before him, who expected to found a kingdom on truth, was a harmless enthusiast: nothing could ever come of so fatuous an endeavor. In modern times this is the attitude of a certain class of politicians in America: of the man who says that the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule are an "iridescent dream" which it is folly to follow in politics; of the man who says of his rival, He has the brass bands but I have the votes; of the man who jeers at James Russell Lowell as a "literary feller." It is the attitude, too, of a certain type of superstitious agnosticism, which looks with contempt on all inquiries into the invisible realm as a waste of human endeavor, and which characterizes talk about God as worse than sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

The second attitude is that of the man who perceives that truth, or at least a popular opinion about the truth, is a usable element in human society; the attitude of Simon Magus, who, seeing that Peter has a great following and works great wonders, offers to pay him for the "gift of the Holy Ghost." In mediæval times this was the attitude of a certain class of ecclesiastics who had scant faith in their creeds, but found their articles useful in keeping order in society and giving to themselves a dominant influence. In modern times it is seen in a certain class of politicians who use truth to conjure with; who put just so much truth, or what passes for truth, in their platforms as will catch votes; who are for protection in Pennsylvania and for tariff revision in Iowa; who proclaim loudly their faith in truths now universally recognized for which past generations have suffered, and are silent respecting truths which are in the crucible and cannot be meddled with except at the risk of burning the fingers. It is seen, too, in modern ecclesiastics who measure creeds by their conformity, not to truth, but to popular opinion, and who demand creed revision on the one hand, or oppose it on the other, not that they may have a creed which is true, but that they may have one which is profitable, one which promises to promote the prosperity and power of their ecclesiastical organization.

The third attitude is that of intellectual curiosity; that of the Athenians who spent all their time in telling or hearing some new thing. This is the theoretic attitude of those who investigate, not with any purpose to modify character or conduct, but only to gratify a laudable curiosity. It is the attitude of Athenian Americans who take up every new fad because it is new; who study Mormonism one year, spiritism the second year, esoteric Buddhism a third year, Christian Science a fourth year, not because they wish to decide whether they will be Mormons, Spiritists, Buddhists, or Christian Scientists, but because they are interested to know what people are talking about. This is the attitude of much eminently respectable but entirely unreligious theological discussion, participated in by men who read the latest book on Is there a God? but with no notion of obeying him if there is one; or on Is the Soul Immortal? but with no intention to live as an immortal if it is; or on the Higher Criticism, without, as a result, or even as an anticipation, the slightest difference in their use of or their regard for the Bible.

The fourth attitude of mind is not easy to define, though some illustration of it in the non-religious realm may help to interpret its character in the religious realm. To one who has this attitude truth is pervasive and dominant; belief in the truth is more than an intellectual opinion; it is a vital experience. Truth is felt rather than perceived; not something apart from the believer which he recognizes, but something in the believer which he cannot separate from himself. He cannot be truly said to possess the truth; rather the truth possesses him. He studies truth, not merely to inform his understanding, but to mold

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his character and direct his conduct. He sees the North Star, not as a traveler gratifying a momentary curiosity, but as a navigator who by it directs the course of his life. The phrases "all men are created equal" and "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," and that "to secure these ends governments are instituted among men," are not to such a believer mere glittering generalities nor a mere interesting expression of a new theory in political science; they express the inspiration of a new epoch; they are the utterances of a faith which has in it the making of a new nation. Such is the musician's belief in Beethoven: it is more than an intellectual conviction that Beethoven wrote some fine music; his whole soul responds to the symphony when interpreted by a fine orchestra. Such is the artist's belief in Titian: it is more than a scholar's conclusion that Titian painted the "Man with the Glove" in the Louvre at Paris or the "Assumption of the Virgin" in the Academy at Venice; it is an inexpressible experience in the presence of these pictures, any attempt to express which seems to him almost like an impertinence.

Something such is the belief of the Christian believer: it is more than a belief, it is a life. "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth," means more than, It is my conviction that the world was made by a personal God, who is a wise and powerful designer; it means, I have found my Father, and we understand each other. To say "I believe in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord," means more than, By much study I have become convinced that Jesus of Nazareth was more than a martyr suffering for conviction's sake a shameful death at the hands of cruel men; it means, To me Jesus Christ is the Elder Brother whose example I follow, after whose character I desire to mold my own, in whose life and character I see the supreme ideal for my life's ambition and the supreme object for my love and reverence, and in whose presence I realize a strange protection and the inspiration of a strong power. "I believe in the Holy Ghost" means more than, I believe that there is a third person of the Trinity proceeding from the Father and the Son; it means,

> "God is not dumb, that he should speak no more.
> If thou hast wanderings in the wilderness
> And find'st not Sinai, 'tis thy soul is poor."

This faith transcends description and defies analysis. Yet we may discern in it the two elements which Paul has attributed to it in saying, "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness."

It is a whole-hearted belief. It is an experience of the sensibilities and the will no less than of the intellect. It is self-pervasive, self-possessing, self-dominating. It is more than a belief; it is the life. Jesus Christ said of himself, I am the truth. He who is possessed of this all-compelling faith may say of himself, reverently, I am the truth. It is the innermost secret of his being, the seed wrapped in the husks, the heart which feeds all the tissues of life with its blood. And it is "unto righteousness." Because it possesses and dominates the spirit it molds the character and controls the conduct. Because it is the secret of the inner life it directs the outer life. It is practical, not because the soul consciously shapes its life to the truth perceived, as to a model external to itself, but because it is the inner force of the soul and shapes the soul, largely unconscious of its influence, in the ways of truth and righteousness. It is thus practical because it is spiritual, masterful because it is vital. Its expressions are to be found rather in the poetry than in the philosophy of the church, rather in its hymns than in its theological treatises.

When faith says, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. I believe in the Holy Ghost; The Holy Catholic Church; The Communion of Saints; The Forgiveness of sins," it is not defining a philosophy, it is expressing a life. In defining a philosophy we should perhaps change our definitions as often as philosophy changes. But in expressing a life we may rightly use as our own expressions which past ages have framed to express a life which was theirs as it is ours. If this creed were the definition of a philosophy, we

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might perhaps condemn as a heretic one who denied the philosophy and continued to use the phraseology. But it is the expression of a spiritual life; and no one truly rejects this creed unless he disowns the life of which it is perhaps an archaic but certainly a beautiful and a sacred expression. Whatever the decision of the local court in Dr. Crapsey's case, we recommend our readers to continue to use this ancient creed, not as a scientific statement of either history or philosophy, but as an expression of a definitely Christian reverence, faith, and hope.

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The Spectator

The Spectator has just experienced his first May Day; but lest his readers should proceed to dress him in long clothes, let him hasten to add that he has seen many a Fourth of July, many a Washington's Birthday, and, indeed, many a first of May. The real May Day, however, is not to be found on American soil; he who is in search of it must go to Merry England. The Spectator does not mean the England of Edward VII., but the true Merrie Englande—the England of Queen Bess and "Sweet Will." A difficult place to get to, it might seem; but on the first of May just passed this Merrie Englande was brought within easy reach by "ye scollers" of Bryn Mawr; and it was on their college green that the Spectator found his first May Day.

❀

The morning, in its loveliness, seemed like one of Herrick's songs come true: the air breathed sweetly of sunshine and blossoms—"Fair pledges of the fruitful trees;" violets starred the grass; the note of a distant meadow-lark floated on the breeze; and the procession, as it wound its way under the gray arch of Pembroke Hall and the green arches of the maples, seemed a gorgeous epitome of the Elizabethan Age. Heralds splendidly appareled in white and gold; the stately Lord and Lady of the May on horseback, with mounted attendants; country lads and lasses guiding the great May-pole wreathed in flowers and drawn by four sturdy oxen; chimney-sweepers in tinsel and soot; morris-dancers jingling their bells; a crimson-robed Mayor of London and a group of citizens; clumsy rustics with their prancing hobby-horse; Titania and Puck and Oberon; Robin Hood and his band in Lincoln green—all Merry England, fancy and fact, reality and romance, was concentrated in the gorgeous pageant advancing slowly through the checkered shade and sunlight of the college green.

❀

Suddenly this procession dissolved into a thousand elements, and, with a glad shout, lord and lady, clown and countryman and fairy, joined hands in a giddy dance about the May-poles on the lawn, singing the song of the May. And, somehow, it seemed as if this were their only natural occupation; for was not England then in the very heyday of her youth—the merry Maytime of her year? And what should she do but dance and sing about a May-pole? Yet youth is the time of romance and poetry as well as of frolic; and, leaving their dance, the holiday-makers separated into groups, to busy themselves with comedy or masque or ballad in different parts of the college green.

❀

One of the bands started off towards a beech grove not far away, and when the Spectator turned his steps in the same direction he found in the shade of the beeches Sweet Allan-a-Dale singing to Robin Hood the sad song of his lost love. Scarcely was the plaintive ditty finished when through the "merry greenwood, amongst the leaves so green," came riding Fair Ellen with her bridal party.

"Then Robin Hood put his horn to his mouth
And blew blasts two and three;
When four-and-twenty bowmen bold
Came leaping over the lea."

And they rescued for Sweet Allan his own true love, as you well know. And perhaps you have met Sweet Allan, and know just how sweet he is; but as for Robin Hood—if you have seen him only in Nottingham Wood, you have no idea how charming this bold outlaw can be.

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In the Merry England of Bryn Mawr, Nottinghamshire lay next door to Fairy-

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land. The Spectator had wandered only a few steps from Robin Hood when he came upon four wee dancing fairies, and in their midst Titania sleeping upon

". . . a bank where the wild thyme blows,
Where oxlip and the nodding violet grows,
Quite over-canopied with luscious woodbine,
With sweet musk-roses and with eglantine"—

(The Spectator will not vouch for all these flowers, being no botanist, but they are the flowers that Shakespeare says were there, and he ought to know.) Such a dainty, ethereal, starry-eyed Titania she was that one could not help pitying the poor Elizabethans who never saw any but a masculine Titania. But how they would have held up their hands in horror at the idea of a feminine Snug and a lady Bottom! They who would not let their ladies take even the most ladylike of feminine rôles! Not even the most prejudiced of Elizabethans, however, could have resisted the Bottom and Quince and Snug who now strutted forth from their "tiring place" behind the thicket to rehearse "Pyramus and Thisbe." Or, if his prejudices were not entirely bowled over by these clowns, he had only to see the jovial Shoemaker and his journeymen of Dekker's comedy, who were disporting themselves near Denbigh Hall; or ivy-crowned Bacchus with his crew, swaggering across the green in the rôle of antimasque—and proving beyond question of a doubt that, though a feminine Bacchus may be as grammatically impossible as a masculine Bacchante, she is by no means a physical impossibility!

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As he strolled back across the campus the Spectator passed a band of rosy-cheeked milkmaids dancing in a ring, and a moment later he caught a flash, through the trees, of skipping, whirling morris-dancers; but before he could reach them they had flung themselves on the grass with a wild shriek—their antics over. Continuing his way, he entered the cloistered courtyard of the college library, and there the holiday-makers were giving one of Ben Jonson's exquisite masques. Three Graces in flowing robes, "divinely tall and most divinely fair," were just advancing across the green in search of Cupid, and inquiring archly:

"Beauties, have you seen this toy,
Called Love, a little boy,
Almost naked, wanton, blind;
Cruel now, and then as kind?
If he be amongst ye, say?
He is Venus' runaway."

The music of their voices was mingling sweetly with that of the fountain in the center of the court, when suddenly the notes of a gay, capricious dance broke upon the air, and in tripped the little God of Love, with "twelve other golden-haired cherubs, his little jocund Sports;" and they danced over the green like flashes of sunshine, throwing the rest of the court into somber twilight. As they danced on, the cloistered shade seemed to become deeper, the Gothic columns and towers to grow austere and venerable; and all at once it came over the Spectator that he was in a quadrangle of the Oxford of long ago, beautiful Oxford, "steeped in sentiment . . . and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages;" the Oxford of the sixteenth century, celebrating with this masque a visit of her Virgin Queen.

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As the Spectator wended his way homeward there lingered in his mind's eye a vision of this May Day—a vision of

". . . pomp and feast and revelry,
With masque and antique pageantry;
Such sights as youthful poets dream
On summer eves by haunted stream."

And side by side with this picture of the Elizabethan May Day there rose before him a vision of American holidays: of Coney Island and Keith's; of football games, and automobile races, and fire-crackers; of Ferris Wheels and Shooting the Chutes and Looping the Loop; American sensationalism in the place of Elizabethan merriment, American machinery in the place of Elizabethan fancy: and the Spectator fell into pessimistic musing.

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After all—who can tell? Perhaps the Elizabethans would have Looped the Loop and Shot the Chutes with as much enthusiasm as we, if they had had the chance!

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THE PANAMA CANAL

BY JOHN FOSTER CARR

Fourth Paper

The Silver Men

THE blacks who are doing the drudging toil of the work come from the chain of Caribbean islands that curves its two thousand miles from the mouth of the Orinoco to Yucatan—the islands that are soon in naval strategy to be the outworks of the Canal. Compare these negroes, man with man, and you find astonishing differences. The Barbadian often has all the marks of his African fathers. The Jamaican, less by blended blood than by education and a half-civilization grown national, shows a surface advance in type. As his shovel works through the crushed stone and mixes the concrete he will join in a monotonous chant; but his music has no melody like that of our negroes. He is very English, sometimes to the point of mutton-chop whiskers, and sometimes, by a perversity in imitation, he becomes a veritable h-less Cockney in ebon. In the Martiniquan the African traits are transformed. There is often a French comeliness; in the women a French daintiness and intelligence. A full half of the men wear the French goatee and bear a preposterous resemblance to the *boulevardier* Napoleon. They ply their picks sullenly. And so the men of no two islands are alike. Grenadians are quite different from Lucians; the man from St. Kitts requires more tactful handling than the Fortune Islander.

Study them as laborers and the essential similarities of all West Indians appear. It does not matter whether they are digging a drainage trench in Colon, or laying tracks at the very bottom of the Great Cut, or breaking up the ancient cobblestone pavements of Panama. Watch them work for but a single day and you are puzzling over the worst problem that faces our engineers. The only labor they can find in the Western Hemisphere for building the Canal has less than one-third the efficiency of our labor of the North. The West Indian's every movement is slow and bungling; every small obstacle a subject for debate; anything at all a sufficient excuse for all hands to stop work. A slow upward look from one or two of a gang is usually the only sign that they have heard the foreman's yell, for there is no change in pace or manner of work. Both remain slow, incredibly slow—"slow as the wrath of God," is the impatient descriptive phrase of the Chief Engineer. They seem in a tropic trance of idleness and stupidity. They cannot learn to master a tool. They will bend over the ground with a pick, and use no muscles for the work but their biceps. Let a good foreman keep at them and they can finally be brought to lift it above the shoulder as long as they are watched, but it always falls of its own weight. I have never seen a West Indian swing a pick well

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over his back and wield it with precision and power.

Their dullness is almost beyond belief. A laborer will set his shovel against a rock, and push and press and pry and scrape until he learns, what his eyes should have told him at the very first glance, that it is solid. I have seen a man try to carry a crowbar on his head, and drop it every hundred yards. Mr. Stevens tells of sending a Jamaican with a message; he laid the note on his head and weighted it with a half-brick to prevent its blowing away. The *machete*, a cutlass of a knife with a broad, two-foot blade, is far better than a hatchet for cutting a way through the tangle of a jungle, but it is a slow tool to use for a scythe's work. Yet the Jamaican flatly refuses to learn how to handle a scythe. And so you will see a dozen of them—a mosquito brigade—in an acre patch, a small hooked stick in one hand, the swinging machete in the other, heavily snipping little wisps of grass. The foreman will tell you that they would far rather lose their jobs than learn any other way. And even this wretched labor cannot be depended upon for any given number of days' work each month. Some will work three days, some four, and some five; very few indeed—the timekeepers say "none"—will work all week. Tropical nature has no penalties for the improvident, and even the bee, they say, stores no honey here. Little or no work brings all the necessities of life, and in his good-humored ignorance the West Indian is generally well content to do without the rest. Ignorance almost as much as sloth is the bar to his progress, and dictates the classification of the pay-roll. The cheap silver dollar he knows and insists upon having, and this makes the distinction of "gold" and "silver" men—in its essence a distinction of intelligence.

Set and ignorant, they are the prey of voodooism, superstition, and charms. From their slave ancestors they seem to inherit the vague and dreadful fears that may seize them with panic or turn them to mob rage. Their hidden ways of thought and feeling are undivined by the white man. A Martiniquan laborer who speaks good French instead of the usual almost unintelligible *patois* of the island, and whose excellent elementary education also appears in handwriting like script, in a simple difficulty of correspondence could show the irrational fear, the furtive care, of an animal. He never heard from home, he said; no Martiniquan ever did. "Why?" I asked. "They burn all our letters here," he answered—"*On les bruke, monsieur!*" Then he told how he had tried in vain to circumvent the evil skill of the United States postal officials. It was while he was quartered at Rio Grande by the Great Cut. One Sunday he and some of his friends wrote a number of letters to their folks, who still live under the shadow of Mont Pelée, at the other end of the Caribbean. As soon as it was dark he started secretly down the railroad track with his little packet, trudged the eleven miles to Panama, tucked his letters in the box when no one was looking, and then trudged back again to Culebra. But it was of no use; the letters were burned all the same. "*C'était inutile, monsieur!*" He could tell me nothing to explain this wild notion—nothing so much as a light seen in the post-office at night. That many of their letters go astray is true enough. Hundreds are dumped into the boxes lacking either address or stamps; hundreds come to the Isthmus, and their roving addressees are never found.

This is poor material to turn into an efficient working force. But it must all be used. No other is to be had, the work must be done now, and there is no blacklisting or identifying a discharged negro. Yet with these very laborers some of the foremen have done wonders. A number of gangs are splendidly trained and do good work. A world of deafening shouting and bulldozing is used to bring results: "Hey! get to work there!" "Swing out! Jamaica, swing out!" "This is the *second* time you've been late! Dock 17,251 two hours!" I have often seen the threat of the slave-driver in the foreman's eye—the menace of brute force. But the black laborer is usually conscious of his legal equality; bad treatment of any kind sends him at once to the British or French Consul; and a strictly enforced

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penalty of twenty-five dollars for assault is an effective preventive of violence. And the Jamaican will not tolerate profane abuse. "I am a British subject, sir!" is his stern protest and reproof. He has the law on his side, too, and a warrant is the remedy he often seeks. I have the memorandum of a case in which an American was fined ten dollars for using "vile and threatening language" to a Jamaican. Nor will the Martiniquan submit to any indignities. He is quick with his proud, challenging: "*Je suis électeur!*" I believe that nowhere in the United States is the negro treated with greater justice—civil and social—than in the Canal Zone, and this is partly because we are living in equal partnership as sovereign peoples with a race which is perhaps three-quarters negritic.

"The poorest labor I have ever known" is the condemnation of a globe-trotting engineer. And yet we can well spare some of our denunciation of the West Indian, for his improvement lies measurably in our own hands. His lodging is already better and more cleanly than any that he has ever known; and the new type of his quarters is a further advance in ventilation and protection against mosquitoes. But he has not fared so well in the matter of nourishment. Allowing him to feed himself for peace' sake has had unfortunate consequences, because perhaps two-fifths of all these laborers do not eat sufficient or proper food to enable them to do any kind of hard work. I have looked into hundreds of their pots boiling over bonfires, as they crouched beside them. A very large number contained nothing but rice, or a piece of yam, or some plantains. Others had added a small piece of salt pork, beef, or codfish. In the rainy season, when with damp wood their primitive fires fail them, they tell me that they have often to choose between half-cooked yams and rice—which the doctors say is not digestible—and biscuits. Bread is almost unknown. The Colombians alone know how to forage well. Their fish and meat stews are always hearty and sometimes delicious, as I can testify, and they alone of all the laborers on the Isthmus who feed themselves seem to live better than those who go to the Commission's kitchens.

Weak and anæmic are all these poorly fed laborers. They fall easy victims to malaria, and on this account alone, the Chief Sanitary Officer maintains, pneumonia with seventy to ninety per cent. of fatal cases is prevalent among them, when the better-fed white man is nearly immune. Thinking that they can live for less than the Commission's thirty cents a day, 15,800 of the 17,000 "silver men" provide their own food. For reasons of health as well as of industrial efficiency they should all be obliged to take the Commission's ration. It consists of rice, beans, onions, fresh and salt beef, codfish, lard, bread, sugar, and coffee, varied with occasional potatoes, plantains, and bananas. The proportions are changed to suit the national taste of each mess, and the whole ration has the approval of our Agricultural Department.

It is unavoidable that industry should win its way with difficulty, and honest toil have some martyrs, but to force these poor half-fed fellows to work at the pace of a Northern eight-hour day is certain and unjustified cruelty. Until you have tried to do a good fifteen minutes' work with a pick during the rainy season—the temperature, humidity, and smell of a greenhouse about you—you can have no idea of the exhaustion that tropical heat brings even to the laborer who is used to it. The slow and steady work of a ten-hour day accomplishes more at less physical expense. The foremen say that to get the most out of a gang you have to push to the limit of what the majority can easily stand. The first to fail are the poorest fed. I saw one of them discharged the other day. The foreman was eloquent: "He won't work, and he can't work. Yes, he is a big fellow, but he eats nothing but plantains, and he's got no muscles. I had to fire him, and I feel as mean as if I'd thrown an ax at a nice old Newfoundland dog." The longer day will be more merciful, when Congress makes it possible by permitting the white foreman to work ten hours as well as the black laborer.

The unending problem of the engineers is to find new ways of devising

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efficient machines to substitute for inefficient men. When the work is well under way, about one year hence, at least thirty thousand employees of all kinds will be needed on the Isthmus. To maintain these numbers and make good all losses an estimated monthly supply of two thousand fresh laborers must be provided. Many experiments in labor have already been tried. The few Panamanians that offer themselves are excellent general handy men, but they require novelty in their employment and will not even undertake regular hard work. Colombians are particularly useful as dock laborers and in the Sanitary Department, but no more are to be recruited. When the last detachment of them was being marched down to Barranquilla on the coast, some one started a rumor that they were going to be drafted into the army; the men speedily took to their heels, and the little regiment of canal-diggers melted away like ice in a Colon refrigerator. The Chief Engineer would prefer the steady, hard, intelligent labor of the Chinese, if it could be definitely proved that the Chinese can resist the climate. The best of all that have yet been tried are the Gallegos. There are life and spirit in their North Spanish blood. They work ambitiously, and earn every cent of their higher wages. I have seen one of them run fifty feet to get his shovelful of earth on a departing car. When the negroes are lounging in their bunks on Sunday, you can see a party of these Gallegos enjoying a new-found sport by coasting in an old French dumping-car down a half-mile of graded track.

With the gradual lessening of disease the supply of unsought labor has increased very rapidly, and a stricter selection is now possible. The Gallegos have done so well that more of them are to be imported. Other supplies are to be drawn from Grenada, St. Kitts, Antigua, the Barbadoes, Guadeloupe, and Martinique. But no large proportion of men is to be brought from any one place, for "Labor and Quarters" tries to profit by the rivalry that exists between the different islands; and the possibility of panic or disease which might affect a single set of islanders is a grave danger to be avoided.

Panama, Republic of Panama.

MR. CARNEGIE'S GIFT TO THE TEACHERS

BY HENRY S. PRITCHETT

President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

THE announcement by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, a year ago, of a gift of ten million dollars to provide a fund for paying retiring pensions for teachers aroused the greatest interest among all friends of education. This interest was the greater because Mr. Carnegie, in his letter of gift, frankly stated the lack in our present educational system of such support for the teacher and the effect which this lack has in discouraging men from the choice of teaching as a profession. He made it clear in this letter that his purpose was to establish the principle of the retiring salary in academic life in America as a means of advancing the cause of higher education.

Since the original announcement of Mr. Carnegie's generous gift but little definite information concerning its purpose and practical administration has been made known, for the reason that the actual steps of organization have but recently been taken. The trustees were first convened in November, 1905, and an organization effected. To the executive committee of this organization was committed the work of framing the form of administration of the fund. The full board of trustees met on April 9, 1906, and accepted, with slight changes, the plan which this committee brought forward, so that it is now possible to say with some definiteness what the meaning and scope of the gift are to be.

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By an Act of Congress, approved by the President on March 10, 1906, the trustees chosen by Mr. Carnegie were incorporated under the title "The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching," and the purpose of the foundation is described in that Act in the following words: "To provide retiring pensions, without regard to race, sex, creed, or color, for the teachers of universities, colleges, and technical schools in the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Newfoundland," and "in general, to do and perform all things necessary to encourage, uphold, and dignify the profession of the teacher and the cause of higher education." In a word, this Foundation is intended, not so much to benefit a particular individual or class of individuals, as to advance and dignify the profession of the teacher and the cause of higher education which the teacher serves. Its name indicates, in part at least, the aim for which it stands. The practical step which it will now proceed to take is the establishment in a number of institutions of higher learning on the American continent of the retiring salary as a part of the academic compensation. Long ago the older European countries recognized clearly that the calling of the teacher could not command the money reward of other callings and professions, and they have aimed, and generally successfully, to meet this professional disadvantage to some extent by removing from the teacher's life the uncertainty and anxiety which go with modest income. In all European countries the teacher's retiring allowance is a recognized part of his compensation. It is the purpose of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and will be its first work, to establish this principle in so large a number of American institutions as to make it a part also of our American system of education, so that the teacher may feel that the retiring allowance to which he is entitled is one of the compensations which go with small pay and modest living—a compensation which he receives, not as a gratuity, but as a matter of right.

Two questions naturally occur to the teachers themselves and to the friends of education concerning the administration of this gift, and they are these: Granting the great need for the establishment of the retiring pension system in our higher institutions, how far will this gift go toward the accomplishment of that object? What rules will govern the granting of retiring allowances, and what institutions and individuals will share in the benefits of the fund?

There are in the three English-speaking countries of North America something over seven hundred institutions calling themselves colleges or universities. For many of these it is difficult to obtain any accurate data as to the pay and support of their teachers. About one-half of these institutions have given information of such a nature as to show the general character of the support accorded to the teacher.

Briefly stated, it may be said that 327 colleges and universities employ 6,207 teachers at a total annual expense of $9,630,000, or at an average compensation to the teacher of $1,550 a year. It will be understood that the word teacher is here used to designate a permanent member of a faculty (a professor, associate or adjunct professor, or assistant professor). These figures do not include the pay of instructors and assistants whose places are temporary, and who are not considered as eligible to a pension.

Of these 327 institutions 218 have some denominational connection, 58 are supported and controlled by the State, and 51 are not connected with denominations nor controlled or supported by the State. The first group pays an average annual salary to each professor of $1,180, the second an average salary of $1,787, and the third group an average salary of $1,907.

The mere inspection of the financial exhibits of these widely scattered institutions reveals much of the heroism and the devotion of the American teacher and the sacrifices which an American community will make in order to furnish to its youth what it believes to be an education. In these details of college salaries is laid bare the story of many a struggling college standing bravely for high ideals in education and sincerity and thoroughness in college standards.

On the other hand, the examination of

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the details of such statistics shows many a case of unwise devotion. There are many universities and colleges in this long roll which are such in name only and which have no other reasons for existence than those which spring from local pride and personal or denominational ambition.

The annual income of the fund provided by Mr. Carnegie is a half-million dollars. It is evident that this sum will be inadequate for the maintenance of a fair system of retiring allowances in all these hundreds of institutions, and that, if the principle of the pension system is to be established, it can be done only by the devotion of this income, not to isolated individuals as a general charity, but by its use in the recognition of institutions and individuals along some definite and well-considered plan. To pay a modest pension here and there among the 6,000 teachers of these 327 colleges would be a worthy charity, but it would accomplish little toward the inauguration and establishment of the principle of the retiring pay as a part of the teacher's compensation, and it would do little to dignify and advance the profession of the teacher or the cause of higher education. The practical problem which the trustees have to face is the administration of this trust in such a way as to deal generously and fairly with the individual teacher, and at the same time to establish the principle of the retiring allowance as a part of American academic administration.

In framing an administration to accomplish these ends the trustees have found themselves face to face with questions of the highest importance and of far-reaching significance. Among the most difficult are three which are fundadamental. First, What is a college? second, What constitutes denominational control? and, third, Should a private agency step in between the State and one of its institutions and establish a system of retiring allowances for university professors who are officers of the State?

With regard to the first question it may be said that the term college is used to designate, in the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland, institutions varying so widely in entrance requirements, standards of instruction, and facilities for work that the term is no description of the character of the institution. Of the seven hundred and more institutions calling themselves colleges or universities, many are such in name only. The title college has been adopted in many cases by an ambitious high school, and the title university by an ambitious college, in much the same way that the title colonel is assumed by individuals. To recognize all these institutions as colleges would be to abandon all educational standards, and would go far to encourage every high school to call itself a college. The trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching have, therefore, adopted for the present an arbitrary definition of the term college, which is that now in use under the revised ordinances of the State of New York, and which reads as follows: "An institution to be ranked as a college must have at least six professors giving their entire time to college and university work, a course of four full years in liberal arts and sciences, and should require for admission not less than the usual four years of academic or high school preparation, or its equivalent, in addition to the pre-academic or grammar school studies." The trustees will also require that an institution, to be ranked as a college and to be dealt with as a college officially, must have a productive endowment of not less than $200,000.

This definition of a college is a modest one. To accept less than this is practically to throw away any real standard of work both for the college and for the high school; and the trustees, representing as they do all sections of the country, have felt that they could do no higher service to education than to maintain some fair standard of what an institution ought to be in order to call itself a college.

The Act of Incorporation for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching provides that "retiring pensions shall be paid to such teachers only as are or have been connected with institutions not under control of a sect, or which do not require their trustees,

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their officers, faculties, or students (or a majority thereof), to belong to any specified sect, and which do not impose any theological test as a condition of entrance therein or of connection therewith." While this language seems definite enough, the practical administration of the matter is not so simple. A large majority of all the colleges of the country have a connection more or less strong with denominations. Indeed, nearly all colleges not founded by the State have grown out of the efforts of religious bodies, and they cannot forget the obligations they owe to the denominations. As the country has grown older there has been, however, a growing tendency among the older and stronger institutions to give up the denominational relation. One finds, therefore, every possible form, today, of denominational connection exemplified in American colleges. In the more extreme form this connection involves absolute ownership and the control of the trustees and faculties by a denomination; while in its weakest form the denomination appoints simply a visiting committee to report and advise. In nearly all these cases, however, whether of the strict or of the loose form of control, it will be found that the trustees who govern the institution and choose its officers are of a specified denomination. At just what point between the extremes an institution should be considered undenominational is a difficult question to decide. In this matter the trustees of the Foundation desire to go slowly, but to deal with the question in a fair and generous spirit. It is evident that in many cases colleges must choose between the advantages of this gift and the benefits of a denominational connection.

The question of the inclusion of the State institutions is one which involves consideration of a matter of large public policy. This fund is a gift to higher education, and from the educational standpoint there are serious objections to a policy which would recognize, in a State like Wisconsin, for example, a modest college, and yet which did not recognize the State University, the real leader of higher education. On the other hand, the State universities have labored through many discouragements, for many years, to bring home to the people of their respective States a recognition of the fact that higher education is to be supported generously by the State. This lesson has now been well learned, and the great State universities are to be the richest institutions in our country so far as income is concerned. The States may fairly be expected to provide a retiring pension system for their own professors, and it is certainly questionable whether such wholesale action on the part of a private agency in the endowment of State institutions might not do them an injury rather than a kindness.

It will be seen, therefore, that the trustees who have in charge Mr. Carnegie's gift have found themselves at the very outset face to face with questions of the highest importance, with which they are endeavoring to deal as wisely and as fairly as they are able. It is their hope that the teachers of America will appreciate the fact that it is far more important to establish the principle of the retiring pension than to maintain a charitable fund, and that it will serve a far greater purpose in American education to establish this principle and to maintain a fair ideal of college work and college organization than to relieve the needs of individual teachers, however deserving they may be. The board of trustees is composed almost wholly of men who have spent their lives as teachers, who have the utmost sympathy with the problem which the teachers confront, and who realize as only college teachers can the inadequacy of the teachers' pay. They hope, therefore, that in their effort to solve these questions they may have the support and at least the patience of the American teachers. And it will be remembered that American is used here in the continental sense.

In the actual administration of the Foundation the trustees have adopted the following principles and rules. They desire, first of all, to recognize the teacher, wherever possible, through the institution in which he works; and to the teacher in such institutions the benefits of the Foundation will be available automatically. That is to say, once the teacher in an accepted institution has

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complied with the conditions, a retiring pension will be granted him immediately upon the recommendation of his institution, and he will receive this retiring allowance through the same officer of his college from whom he received his salary while in active service.

Just what institutions will be included in the first list admitted officially to the benefits of the Foundation cannot at this moment be named. Such a list will be announced in due time. In the nature of the case it will be a provisional list only, and to it additions will be made as rapidly as the wise solution of the questions involved will admit.

On the other hand, the trustees recognize that in many institutions which, by reason of low entrance requirements or for other cause, cannot be for the present recognized as colleges, there are teachers who have been and are doing splendid work for education. In such institutions, which are undenominational, they will deal with the individual professor, and will confer such pensions as distinguished and faithful service may seem to warrant, using again, so far as their charter may allow them, a generous interpretation of the purpose of the gift.

The trustees recognize that a fixed rule limiting the amount of the retiring allowance, such as a stated per cent. of a professor's salary when retired, cannot be adopted without working a serious hardship in many institutions where salaries are low, and under the best conditions must remain low for many years. As the foregoing statement has shown, the average pay of a professor in American colleges is $1,550, while many professors are doing excellent work on a salary of $1,200 a year. To grant to such men a retiring allowance of fifty per cent. of their salary would scarcely tend to dignify the profession of the teacher. It seems, therefore, more fair to men in small colleges and on small pay to use in reckoning the retiring allowance a scale which has some relation to the salary received. Thus, under the rules adopted, a professor receiving an active salary of $1,200 would receive a retiring allowance of $1,000, while one receiving a salary of $5,000 would receive a retiring allowance of $2,700.

Normal retiring allowances will be granted either upon ground of age or of service, and the following four rules extracted from the regulations of the trustees, just published, give the practical conditions upon which such retiring allowances may be earned:

I. In reckoning the amount of the retiring allowance, the average salary for the last five years of active service shall be considered the active pay.

II. Any person sixty-five years of age, and who has had not less than fifteen years of service as a professor, and who is at the same time a professor in an accepted institution, shall be entitled to an annual retiring allowance computed as follows:

(*a*) For an active pay of sixteen hundred dollars or less, an allowance of one thousand dollars, provided no retiring allowance shall exceed ninety per cent. of the active pay.

(*b*) For an active pay greater than sixteen hundred dollars the retiring allowance shall equal one thousand dollars, increased by fifty dollars for each one hundred dollars of active pay in excess of sixteen hundred dollars.

(*c*) No retiring allowance shall exceed three thousand dollars.

III. Any person who has had a service of twenty-five years as a professor, and who is at the time a professor in an accepted institution, shall be entitled to a retiring allowance computed as follows:

(*a*) For an active pay of sixteen hundred dollars or less, a retiring allowance of eight hundred dollars, provided that no retiring allowance shall exceed eighty per cent. of the active pay.

(*b*) For an active pay greater than sixteen hundred dollars the retiring allowance shall equal eight hundred dollars, increased by forty dollars for each one hundred dollars of active pay in excess of sixteen hundred dollars.

(*c*) For each additional year of service above twenty-five, the retiring allowance shall be increased by one per cent. of the active pay.

(*d*) No retiring allowance shall exceed three thousand dollars.

IV. Any person who has been for ten years the wife of a professor in actual service may receive during her widowhood one-half of the allowance to which her husband would have been entitled.

Copies of these rules have been printed, and are now available for the use of college officers. These rules have been adopted after careful discussion and consideration, and, while the actual administration will undoubtedly show changes which must be made, they represent the best lines of administration

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which the experience of the trustees can at this time supply.

From the standpoint of the administration of trust funds, and particularly of educational trusts, this board of trustees presents two characteristics of unusual interest. The first is that Mr. Carnegie has placed the administration of this great gift for education in the hands of supposed experts, representative of the entire country. Heretofore gifts for education in America have been the gifts of private philanthropy, a philanthropy directed in nearly all cases by the personal acquaintance of individuals or by personal knowledge of a particular institution or community. It will be an interesting outcome of this fund to observe the lines upon which a body of experts in education, drawn from all parts of the United States and Canada, will administer a fund for education.

A second interesting fact involved in the establishment of this board of trustees is the formation thereby of a central agency in educational administration, which represents not a locality or a single institution, but which aims to take into account the educational needs of all sections. The single step of adopting a modest but reasonable definition of a college is a far-reaching one in education. This idea of the scope of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching as a centralizing and standardizing influence in American education promises to outweigh in importance the primary purpose of the fund, great as that primary purpose is. The influence of such an agency, if wisely directed, in clearing our ideas of educational administration and in setting fair standards can scarcely be overestimated. If it accomplishes nothing other than to call attention to the need of doing thoroughly the grade of educational work in which an institution is embarked, it will have accomplished much. If the trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching can make plain the lesson that it is the duty of a high school to do well the work of a high school and not try to be a college, and that it is the duty of the college to do the work of a college and not to try to call itself a university, a great step will have been taken in academic consistency. If they shall succeed in dealing in a generous and yet sincere and wise spirit with the questions of denominational and State control, they will have served a still larger purpose in contributing to the sincerity and thoroughness of American education.

THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS[1]

BY WILLIAM HARD

THE United Mine Workers, Mr. Mitchell's organization, existing mainly in the coal fields east of the Mississippi River, is a business enterprise. The Western Federation of Miners, Mr. Haywood's organization, existing mainly in the metal fields west of the Mississippi River, is incidentally a business enterprise but fundamentally a philosophical agitation.

The United Mine Workers accepts the present industrial system and regards the employer as its partner. The Western Federation of Miners denounces the present industrial system and regards the very existence of the employer as an evil.

The United Mine Workers is interested mainly in the division of the proceeds of the present industrial system between itself and its partner, the employer. It wants to increase its own share of the proceeds and it wants to reduce its partner's share. The Western Federation of Miners, on the other hand, is interested mainly in the elimination of the employer. It wants more wages, of course, but if it should succeed

[1] This is the second article of the series on "Industrial Democracy," announced in our April Magazine Number. The first article, "Miner and Operator," appeared in that issue of The Outlook. Editorial comment upon the questions discussed in this article will be found on another page.—THE EDITORS.

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in establishing a scale of even a hundred dollars a day it would still be bound by its principles to spurn the relaxing comforts of prosperity and to nerve itself to a continuation of the struggle.

Edward Boyce, as President of the Federation, addressed its annual Convention in 1902 as follows:

> There are only two classes of people in the world. One is composed of the men and women who produce all. The other is composed of men and women who produce nothing, but live in luxury upon the wealth produced by others. As we have no animosity toward any human being on earth, but earnestly desire the elevation of all to a higher standard of living, I beseech you to leave nothing undone to educate the members of this organization so that they can proceed upon intelligent lines to better their conditions of life and thus set an example to others. The time has arrived when this organization should array itself upon the side of the producers and should advise its members to take political action and work for the adoption of those principles that are destined to free the people from the grasp of the privileged classes. Every individual who labors, be that labor what it may, is entitled to the product of his labor, and it is your duty, if you are true to those you represent, to advise them to join hands with the thousands of intelligent men and women throughout the world who are battling for the abolition of the wage system and the emancipation of the wage-worker from the grasp of corporate oppression for the co operative brotherhood of man.

After listening to this speech, the Convention made the following declaration:

> We, the tenth annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners, do declare for a policy of independent political action, and do advise and recommend the adoption of the platform of the Socialist Party of America by the locals of the Federation in conjunction with a vigorous policy of education along the lines of political economy.

Thus, in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, in a region which had known but one generation of the modern system of industry, there was adopted by native-born Americans a philosophy wrung by Karl Marx from the accumulated oppressions of centuries of European life. Thus did the American frontiersman develop in forty years into a cosmopolitan proletarian.

There is usually one of two reasons for the presence of a large number of Socialists in any trade union. One is the influence of Europeans; the other is a particularly spectacular triumph of the machine over the man, and a particularly cruel displacement of human beings by superhuman tools.

The first of these reasons, the influence of Europeans, is illustrated in many cities by the brewery workers and by the bakers. The other, the encroachment of the machine, is illustrated by certain locals of cigar-makers and of machinists.

The Western Federation of Miners, however, has not been devoured by the machine, and it does not contain more than a small percentage of Europeans. Whatever of lawlessness there has been in the history of the Western Federation has been American lawlessness. Whatever of radicalism there has been in that history has been radicalism cherished and propagated by Americans. That favorite National scapegoat, "the foreigner," cannot be loaded with the sins of the Western Federation and driven out into the desert of contemptuous indifference.

The explanation of the Socialism of the Federation may possibly be that certain men of a socialistic temperament just happened to be prominent in the organization, and that they converted the other prominent members. So modest an explanation, however, does not comport with the dignity of the modern scientific sociology which can distinguish the chemical ingredients of all human actions, and therefore it becomes necessary to suggest another explanation which is of a bolder kind, and which really contains a great deal of truth.

The Western mines are full of long-limbed, frank-eyed men who have adventured themselves far and wide upon the face of the earth. There are Eastern miners who were blacklisted after leading unsuccessful strikes. There are cowboys who tired of the trail. There are farmers who preferred prospecting to plowing. There are city men who burst the bars of their cages to breathe the open air of the West. These adventurous characters, going out into a new country and plunging into the virgin, everlasting hills, where it would seem that at last all men would stand on the

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same footing, have suddenly discovered that amid these primitive surroundings the modern industrial system is not only found, but is found at its worst.

No one would try to find a parallel anywhere else on earth for the reckless unscrupulousness and maddening insolence of the corporations of the Rocky Mountain States. And practical anarchism among corporations is always a strong promoter of theoretical Socialism among trade unions. If the latter is too theoretical, it at least cannot be said that the former is not sufficiently practical.

The radicalism of the Western Federation of Miners prevents it from joining the American Federation of Labor, the central body to which most American unions belong.

Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell, and other officers of the American Federation talk about the "common interests" of labor and of capital. They also eat dinner with August Belmont. These habits of theirs are regarded unfavorably by the Western Federation of Miners. The leaders of the Western Federation look upon all talk about the "common interests" of labor and of capital as just so much opiated soothing-syrup for infants. And they are grieved to see any labor leader sinking so low as to eat a cut off the same steak with a man whom they regard as the most successful strike-breaker and scab employer in the United States.

But it is not only the oratorical and convivial pursuits of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor that are obnoxious to the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners. The quarrel goes deeper. The American Federation of Labor tolerates "craft autonomy." That is, when there are several crafts in the same industry, the American Federation of Labor usually allows the members of each craft to maintain their own union if they so desire. The teamsters, for instance, in the packing industry have a union of their own; and so have the firemen; and so have the carpenters. These men want separate unions, and the American Federation of Labor consents.

The leaders of the Western Federation of Miners believe that such a division into crafts is fatal. They demand that labor be organized, not according to crafts, but according to industries. All persons employed in the packing industry should be included in one comprehensive and homogeneous organization. It should be impossible for the meat butchers to be called out on strike while the teamsters and firemen and carpenters continue at work. The employees of the whole industry should act as a unit.

The American Federation of Labor, it is true, compromises with the idea of industrial organization. It allows the United Mine Workers to extend its jurisdiction among persons who are not miners, but who work in or around the mines. And it has allowed the longshoremen to annex dock and marine engineers, licensed pilots and tugmen, steam pump operators, lumber inspectors, and many other classes of workmen who are employed on, along, near, or not far from the shore. But the American Federation of Labor is an opportunist body. It has a reverence for the inevitable. When the craft unions in any industry are too strong to be gobbled by an industrial union, the American Federation of Labor allows them to continue on their unassimilated way. And, on the other hand, when an industrial union becomes so popular and so powerful that it can protect a whole industry and can suck into itself the membership of the craft unions, the American Federation of Labor, oblivious of principles and dominated by facts, gives that industrial union a formal authorization and a paternal blessing.

This policy of day-by-day and hand-to-mouth wisdom seems to the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners to be little less than treasonable.

At last year's Convention of the Western Federation President Meyer said:

> We have been taught that in unity there is strength. Will the advocates of craft autonomy undertake to point out the united action of the poor striking machinists on the great Santa Fé system who have been struggling for many months for living conditions, while the union engineer, the union fireman, and the union man in the train service, employed by the same company, have continued to work? Was there united action between the United Mine Workers and the brotherhoods of railway employees when they transferred

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the coal mined by scab labor from the mines of Colorado and moved the trains which deported hundreds of striking miners from their homes and loved ones and deserted them on the plains of New Mexico?

Mr. Gompers says that when a wage reduction is proposed, it is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all. If Mr. Gompers advocated the resistance of all organized labor, I would agree with him; but when he advises the resistance of a part of organized labor while another part, by continuing their employment, furnish the employer with the weapon to defeat those who are engaged in the battle, then I claim that such a policy is not only inadequate, but that it is an injustice to those who are asked to take part in the conflict.

Alienated from the American Federation of Labor, representatives of the Western Federation of Miners attended a convention in Chicago last year at which a constitution was adopted for a new central labor body called the Industrial Workers of the World.

There are at least a billion industrial workers in the world to-day, if we allow five hundred million representatives to the "parasitic classes." Of this billion the Industrial Workers of the World now has about one hundred thousand. The Western Federation of Miners furnishes two-fifths of the one hundred thousand. The rest is dispersed in small locals all over the country.

There was something grotesquely grandiose, but also something profoundly stimulating to the imagination, in the plans laid at that first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World in a musty hall over a saloon on North Clark Street in Chicago.

According to their constitution, the Industrial Workers of the World are divided into thirteen international departments—the Department of Farming Industry, the Department of Foodstuffs Industry, the Department of Mining Industry, etc. A large wheel, with divisions marked by spokes, shows the exact location of each human being. In each international department there are local unions. In case any local union within a department goes out on strike and needs support, the executive board of the department is authorized to call out all the other local unions. Similarly, in case any international department goes out on strike and needs support, the executive board of the whole organization may call out all the other international departments.

Obviously, this is a provision by means of which the executive board of the whole organization may call a general and universal strike of all the Industrial Workers of the World. The American Federation of Labor brandishes no such weapon.

The psychology of the Industrial Workers of the World is the psychology of the Western Federation of Miners. It is a psychology which leads to the adoption of the universal strike as the means of an industrial and political revolution.

The internal policy of the Western Federation of Miners is consistent with its published principles. The most important part of this policy is an aversion to the signing of contracts with employers. A contract is regarded as a manacle. It binds one union when another union might need its help. Presumably if a contract could be signed by the whole working class of the United States with the whole employing class for the term of a year at a fixed scale of wages, the Western Federation of Miners would not seriously object. But in the absence of such a possibility it seems to the Federation that contracts interfere with the mobility and flexibility of the working class. In other words, the hostility of the Federation to the idea of a contract is in one aspect merely the reverse side of its attachment to the idea of the sympathetic strike.

In consequence of not demanding a contract the Federation naturally does not demand a closed shop. As it does not ask the employer to bind himself by a contract to anything, it does not ask him to bind himself to the exclusive employment of union men.

In three other respects besides its failure to demand a closed shop the Western Federation of Miners follows a policy which has often been admired by enemies of trade unions. The Western Federation has no apprentice system. It does not restrict output. And it discountenances jurisdictional quarrels between rival trade organizations.

Speaking of the apprentice system,

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Mr. Haywood, the leader of the Federation, has said:

> The system of apprenticeship, as established by the painters, printers, plumbers, plasterers, and other trade unions, is nothing less than a form of bondage, serfdom, and slavery that has no place in a labor organization in a country believing in free institutions. You take the position that there shall be a certain number of apprentices to a certain number of journeymen, never as many of the former as of the latter. You do not even provide for the boys that you are rearing. Forced out into the world, unable to find employment because of the restriction of the number of apprentices, they must take up vocations that are not under the jurisdiction of craft unions, or else work at a trade as non-union men. The pure and simple trade unions are partly responsible for the deplorable condition of the working class. The walls that you have built around your unions have been of no material benefit. They are responsible for the open shop. The open shop is the result of the closed union. What we need to-day is the open union. Open wide your doors so that every person employed in the industry in which you are engaged may join your union. Combine your forces with the industrial unions of other industries, and you will be able to lift your entire membership to a higher plane of life.

As a parallel development to this distrust of the apprentice system, and as a further evidence of devotion to the idea of an "open union," the Western Federation of Miners at its last convention adopted a rule to the effect that any member of any bona-fide labor organization might become a member of the Western Federation of Miners upon a mere presentation of his union card and without any payment of initiation fees. "We are not trying to build up any job trust," said a speaker on the floor of the convention. "Organized labor should be a body of brothers. And if a workingman has paid one fee to get in, he ought not to be asked to pay it again."

In the matter of restriction of output, the Western Federation of Miners has never been seriously accused of attempting any restriction even through the spontaneous and unauthorized action of its rank-and-file members.

In the matter of jurisdictional quarrels the Western Federation of Miners champions a policy which, if universally adopted, would check most such quarrels at their source. The Federation believes in industrial organization, and in its own case it includes within its membership, so far as it can, all persons working in or around the mines, the smelters, and the reduction mills. In other words, it tries to cover the whole metal-producing industry, and it discountenances all craft unions within that industry. It is, therefore, impossible for two unions to quarrel over their respective claims to be exclusively employed in the performance of any particular kind of work in or around the mines. All the men in or around the mines belong to the same union. No employer could reprehend jurisdictional quarrels more vehemently than they are reprehended by the Western Federation of Miners. The employer reprehends them because they bring business to a standstill without his being in any way to blame. The Western Federation of Miners reprehends them because they break the working class up into feeble fragments.

In this matter, as in others that have been mentioned, the Western Federation, out of antipathy to the employing class, follows a course of conduct which, out of antipathy to trade unions, is cordially recommended by Mr. Parry and his friends.

So much for the philosophy of the Western Federation of Miners. Now for the lawlessness with which it has been charged.

There can be no doubt that members of the Western Federation of Miners have frequently coerced non-union men. Abundant and conclusive evidence on this point is furnished by the impartial and colorless report made by Mr. Walter B. Palmer to the Bureau of Labor, and published as an official Government document.

A programme of intimidation has at times, in certain mining camps, become the equivalent of a closed shop contract. The employer was not asked to exclude non-union men. The union excluded them spontaneously, without bothering the employer about it.

In the use of the pen the Westerner is almost as telling as in the use of the revolver. The following critical disser-

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tation on the nature of the "scab" was posted in the Cripple Creek district:

WHAT IS A SCAB?

A scab is to his trade what a traitor is to his country, and though both may be useful in troublesome times, they are detested by all when peace returns. A scab is the last to contribute assistance when help is needed, and the first to grasp benefits he never labored to procure. He cares only for himself. He sees not beyond the extent of a day. For a monetary consideration he would betray his friends, family, and country. In short, he is a traitor on a small scale, who first sells the workingman, and is himself afterwards sold in his turn by his employer, until at last he is despised by both and detested by all.

The literary effect of this little tribute to the "hero" of the industrial struggle was heightened by the appended portraits of thirty different scabs, with the two postscripts, "Remember these faces. You will meet them again," and, "Second edition. More coming."

On other occasions the verbal persuasion of non-union miners has been even more direct. For instance:

TO ALL NON-UNION MINERS OF THE CRIPPLE CREEK DISTRICT

You have no doubt read and thought about our circular which was posted throughout this district pretty thoroughly about five weeks ago. This notice is issued for the purpose of reminding you that the 15th of September is near at hand, that the time of grace has about expired. You have had two pay-days in which to decide whether you are for us or against us. There is no middle ground. If you are working in or around the mines, this means you. Now do not throw this to one side and say, "Only another bluff." If you are from Missouri, come into some of the unions of the Western Federation and we will show you that we are trying to help you as well as ourselves, and as the 15th is only about six days away, *you'll have to hurry*.

(Signed)

CRIPPLE CREEK EXECUTIVE BOARD
WESTERN FEDERATION.

In addition to the coercion of individual non-unionists, there have been a few occasions on which armed bodies of union men have stormed mining property and captured it. One such occasion was in 1899 in the Cœur d'Alenes. Another was in 1901 in Telluride.

These transactions did not take place, however, in Suffolk, England. They took place in the Rocky Mountain district of the United States. They took place in a region in which even in the complete absence of trade union disputes the law has sometimes seemed to be mainly an incidental argument which a man might use in a personal denunciation of his antagonists. The readers of The Outlook are familiar with the quarrels between the sheepmen and the cattlemen on the ranges of the Western country. Those quarrels have had nothing to do with trade unionism. They have been purely a matter of business. Yet they have resulted in many murders; and thugs have been hired by one side of the dispute to assassinate employees of the other side.

The failure of the State Legislature of Colorado to pass an eight-hour law after being ordered to do so by an amendment to the State Constitution was one of the most scandalous triumphs ever won by a lobby. And even now, when the law has at last been placed on the statute-books after a series of bloody strikes, a Labor Commissioner appointed by a mine-owning Governor has been obliged to admit that it is effective only in those places where union labor is strong enough to enforce its operation.

Look on two pictures:

First. The 1894 Cripple Creek strike is over. Adjutant-General Tarsney is attorney for some of the miners. He is staying at a hotel in Colorado Springs, which is the city of the millionaires of the mountains. At midnight fifteen masked men enter the hotel. They lay hands upon Tarsney. They take him to a desolate spot five miles from the city. There they strip him, tar him, feather him, and leave him. He gropes his tortured way through a dark and rough country till he finds a farm-house.

Second. The strike of 1904 is on in Cripple Creek. The Western Federation of Miners has opened a co-operative store. This store is to supply the necessities of the members of the union. On the 20th of August a mob collects. There are five hundred men in it. Many of these men are industrious, thrifty, well-known citizens. They gather in front of the miners' store. They smash the windows. They break down the front door. They enter the interior. They destroy the merchandise on the

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shelves and on the counters. When they retire, the property of the Western Federation has been ruined.

The fact is that the members of the Citizens' Alliance and the members of the Western Federation of Miners are brothers under their skins. They come in the main from exactly the same breed. Two men go out prospecting. They come from the same town in Ohio. Their claims are half a mile apart. One man strikes gold. The other doesn't. One man becomes a millionaire and a member of the Mine-Owners' Association. The other becomes a workingman and a member of the Western Federation. When you look at a group of mine-owners and then at a group of Western Federation officials, you are struck with their native resemblance to each other and with their common Americanism. They were all of them American adventurers before they became employers and employees.

Practically identical in breed, the mine-owners and the miners are practically identical in temperament. They transact their affairs on both sides with an untrammeled recklessness which is appalling, but which, if the distinction be admitted, savors of anarchy rather than of illegality. The situation is like that in the rough early mediæval States before the central authority had established its power by means of police. It is not the kind of situation which exists in more modern communities, where the law has become firmly established, but where a low and perverted criminal class has been produced. The lawlessness of the Rocky Mountain States is the lawlessness of men not yet reduced to order. It is not the lawlessness of perverted men escaping from order. It is constitutional. It is not pathological. It is occasionally committed by the highest and most powerful, just as in mediæval times it was occasionally committed by counts and dukes. It is not confined to a specialized criminal class.

One consequence of this difference between the West and the East is that the violence of the West has in it a great deal less of sullen, sordid gloom and a great deal more of irresponsible Titanic irony. For illustration read this story: Thirty-three union men, without accusation and without trial, on July 13, 1904, were deported from Cripple Creek. A special train conveyed them southward. By the next morning the distance of half the length of the State of Colorado separated them from their wives and homes. At half-past four, as dawn was breaking, the train stopped. The boundary line of New Mexico had been reached. The prisoners were put off the train. Each of them was offered two loaves of bread, two cans of beans, and a tin cup. These offerings were accepted by some of the men, were rejected by others, and by still others were first accepted and then ostentatiously thrown away. In accordance with General Bell's orders, the men were now requested to move over the boundary line into New Mexico. They did so, and then turned to jeer at the soldiers. "Do you want to know what I think of General Bell?" shouted one of them. "Well, I think that if you tied a noose tight around his neck you could slip it off over his head without mussing his hair. That's what I think of the size of his intellect. Tell him I said so." Near the boundary line there was an immense boulder. One of the deported men, scrambling up to the top of this boulder, waved half a loaf of bread over his head, shouted, "Give me liberty or give me death," grinned derisively, and hurled the half-loaf far away into the desert. As he did this a friend appeared beside him and, striking a stage pose, began to warble, "Sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing!" This vocal offering was appreciatively received by the audience. The whole group of deported men took up the refrain, and they were still rendering all possible bass and tenor variations on "Sweet land of liberty" when the train withdrew northwards and left them in the desert, thirty-five miles from Tres Piedras, New Mexico.

It has been said that individual non-unionists have been coerced. It has been said that armed bodies of union men have on several occasions made attacks on mining property. These two charges cannot be denied. But there is a third charge which is even more serious. It is said that the leading officials

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of the Federation constitute an "inner circle" devoted to outrage and assassination and responsible for such spectacular and horrible acts of violence as the attempt at train-wrecking on the Florence and Cripple Creek Railroad, the fatal explosion in the Vindicator mine, the fatal accident in the Independence mine, the fatal explosion in the Independence railroad station, and the assassination of former Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho. These acts are on an entirely different plane from ordinary acts of violence, and they should be considered separately.

No one can prove that the Western Federation did not commit these acts. No one so far has been able to prove that it did. The judicial machinery of the State of Colorado has been in the hands of the enemies of the Federation. Many "confessions" have been secured. Many announcements have been made to the effect that the leaders of the Federation would soon be hanged. Yet not a single conviction has been recorded. In fact, no approach has been made to a conviction. In every case the prosecution has collapsed so instantaneously and so ignominiously that the trial has seemed to be instituted more for the purpose of humiliating the defendants than of convicting them. The news of an indictment makes the front page of the newspapers. The news of an acquittal makes the seventh.

Each of the outrages above mentioned was repudiated vehemently by the Federation. In most cases, if not in all, it offered a large reward for the apprehension of the guilty parties.

The least farcical of all the trials in connection with these outrages was that which followed the attempt at train-wrecking on the Florence and Cripple Creek Railroad. Here there was a "confession" by a man named McKinney. McKinney said he had committed the deed in company with certain unionists. On cross-examination he was forced to admit that he was a detective in the employ of agents of the Mine-Owners' Association. This does not mean that the mine-owners themselves were cognizant of his employment. On further cross-examination McKinney was forced further to admit that he had been ordered to secure the wrecking of a train for the purpose of discrediting the Federation. The cases against the men accused by McKinney were at once dismissed. But McKinney himself was never tried. S. D. Crump, attorney for the Mine-Owners' Association, went on his bond.

McKinney was the kind of man who came to the front very frequently during the Colorado troubles. Many such ruffians joined the militia in hope of adventure and of loot. Many of them have since been sent to jail on charges ranging from larceny to murder.

The responsibility for some of the outrages under consideration may rest upon the shoulders of men like McKinney. In other cases there may be no responsibility at all. The horrible massacre in the Independence mine had every appearance of an accident. Many such accidents have happened in the mines of the West. In this particular case the mine was closely guarded, day and night, to prevent the approach of union men, and a report made by a commission appointed by the State Superintendent of Mines showed that the machinery which gave way was in an extremely defective condition.

At the same time it would be absurd to say that there is not a possibility that in certain cases the responsibility may rest upon profligate and abandoned members of the Western Federation. There are such men in the mines of the West, and they are accustomed to deeds of violence in personal disputes, in business disputes, and in trade union disputes. All that can be said with certainty is that there has as yet been no proof.

To summarize:

The Western Federation of Miners gets its tone from adventurous native-born Americans suddenly thrown from the position of frontiersmen into the position of workingmen. That these frontiersmen, as workingmen and as members of the Western Federation, have used their guns in trade union controversies is indubitable. That the Western Federation, however, is an organized criminal clique, and that it accentuates and stimulates the gun-playing proclivi-

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ties of its members, is, so far, unsupported by evidence. Particularly is there an absence of evidence to the effect that the Western Federation, or its leaders, or any of its responsible members have been in any way implicated in those appalling and dastardly events which are connected with the names of the Florence and Cripple Creek Railroad, the Vindicator Mine, the Independence Mine, and the Independence Railroad station. In its attitude toward the employer the Western Federation of Miners has adopted a policy of irrepressible conflict. By declaring in favor of the Socialist party it has foresworn the prospect of peace as long as the "co-operative brotherhood of man" is still unestablished. From the standpoint of the employer, who must deal with his men, and from the standpoint of practical trade unionism, which, in order to exist, must negotiate with the employer, this declaration of hostility to the very existence of the employer does not seem to be good business sense, and cannot fail to make settled business conditions almost impossible. As a business proposition in a business world the Western Federation is, therefore, open to serious criticism. In its attitude toward the working class, on the other hand, the Western Federation has displayed an idealism which has brought a ray of imagination and of sentiment into the life of many an underground toiler. Opening its doors freely and gladly to all workingmen, denouncing all devices for excluding outsiders and for making the trade union a monopoly, cherishing the interests of the unskilled man even above those of his more fortunate comrade, preaching the doctrine of a united working class, calling upon every workingman to regard his brother's trials and ambitions as his own, fighting successfully for the establishment of eight-hour laws, offering to the anarchism of certain corporations the only real resistance which that anarchism has ever encountered, the Western Federation of Miners has contributed to the history of Western mining its one flash of social thought, its one deviation from a purely materialistic line of progress.

Chicago, Illinois.

NIAGARA FALLS FROM THE ECONOMIC STANDPOINT

BY H. W. BUCK

As our readers know, The Outlook heartily believes in the preservation of Niagara Falls as a great scenic feature of the country. But the claims of those who regard its industrial value as more important than its æsthetic power deserve fair statement and judicial consideration. The author of this article is an electrical engineer of standing, who has had a long and authoritative experience in the scientific development of electric power at Niagara Falls. Editorial comment upon his arguments will be found in another column.—THE EDITORS.

THERE are two sides to every question, and the recent outcry from all quarters of the country against the use of Niagara Falls for power purposes may be considered as the expression of opinion only from those who look upon Niagara Falls as a National spectacle, and who consider that its only value to the Nation can be represented as such. It is quite natural and proper to regard Niagara Falls from the sentimental and scenic standpoint, for it had been so regarded for many years before it became a National industrial asset of great economic importance. The protest against its use for the development of power has been embittered by the erroneous belief that the capitalists who have developed the power of the Falls have been the only ones to derive benefit from such development.

There is another side to this question, however—the economic one—which has been forced to the front by the developments in science, engineering, and industry during the past ten years, and this

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phase of the situation cannot be set aside without careful consideration. The development of power at Niagara to-day is not the result of vandalism. It is not a manifestation of the greed of the capitalist for further wealth, nor is it the evidence of the granting by legislatures of monopolistic privileges to the few. Broadly speaking, it is solely the physical expression of the law of supply and demand.

The prairies of the West have been turned to wheat-fields, not to enrich the farmer, but because the wheat was needed in the growth of the country. The lumber lands of the continent have been cut and destroyed, not to enrich the lumber dealer, but to satisfy the irresistible demand for wood. So with Niagara Falls, the water is being diverted for power purposes solely because, in the economic and industrial development of the country, the power is needed. This demand, like all commercial demands, is the net result of the actions and desires of all the individuals of the country.

The economic value of Niagara Falls is probably understood by very few of those who protest and petition against its commercial use. The total hydraulic energy of the Falls, if all were developed, would represent about 3,500,000 horse-power. To generate one horse-power continuously for a year by a steam-engine requires about thirteen tons of coal. To generate, therefore, continuously 3,500,000 horse-power by steam would require about 50,000,000 tons of coal per year. To generate electric power by steam with the most modern steam plant costs not less than $50 per horse-power per year, allowing for fixed charges and operating expenses. Niagara power can be generated and sold in large quantities for $15 per horse-power per year, or for $35 per horse-power year less than is possible from the use of coal and the steam-engine. From the above it will be seen that if all the hydraulic energy of the Falls were utilized for power purposes, there would result to the country an annual saving of $35 per horse-power for 3,500,000 horse-power, or $122,500,000, and in addition there would be an annual saving in coal consumption of 50,000,000 tons. These figures illustrate what it costs the people of this continent annually to maintain Niagara Falls as a spectacle. They represent the saving to those who would consume the power, and not the profit of those who might own the power developments. This waste involved in prohibiting the development of Niagara power might be likened to a great conflagration in which 50,000,000 tons of coal were annually consumed. Such a conflagration might be one of the most magnificent sights in the world, and people might come from all parts to view it, but the human race would certainly be justified in using every effort to stop the waste by putting out the fire.

The men who have risked their money in the development of the power of the Falls have only obtained a reasonable return on their money and no more. They have not grown rich through their so-called monopolistic privileges, as is generally supposed. Those who derive the real benefit are the owners of manufactories and other industrial enterprises using Niagara power in their processes of manufacture, and through them those who purchase the manufactured products for prices which would not be possible without this cheap power used in their production.

The electro-chemical industry, which might be said to have originated through the development of Niagara power, has already reached enormous proportions, and its future growth depends largely upon cheap electric power. Already we have the carborundum industry and its widely extending applications; the calcium carbide industry and all the acetylene applications dependent upon it; the production of artificial graphite and emery to replace the loss caused by the depletion of the natural deposits; the caustic soda and potash industries; and, by far the most significant, the production of aluminum. All of these industries and many others are dependent for their existence upon the cheap power in large quantities available only at Niagara Falls. Many of the most brilliant minds in the world are at work upon the development of electro-chemical processes which presuppose for their operation the availa-

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bility of Niagara power. Processes for the electric smelting of iron ores not reducible in the blast furnace are at hand. If these processes cannot be worked by Niagara power, it will result in incalculable loss to the United States and Canada.

The aluminum industry, engaged in the production of this most important metal by an electrolytic process, requires large amounts of cheap electric power. The power item in the production of aluminum is so large a factor that the selling price of the metal must be proportioned on the cost of power used in making it. The applications of aluminum, and consequently the demand for the metal, are increasing with extraordinary rapidity, and unless this growth is to be stopped, cheap power must be available in large quantities. When one considers that the metal aluminum is one of the principal constituents of the earth's crust, the most common metal in our globe, and far more abundant in nature than iron, it becomes evident, as a logical deduction, that it is destined to rank in importance with iron and steel. This metal cannot be reduced from its ores without the use of electric power, and not commercially in large enough quantities without the use of Niagara power.

All of these fundamental industries and the various interests allied with them, together with their thousands of employees, are to have their ultimate destinies determined in the settlement of this Niagara power matter.

The utilization of all of the power of the Falls need not be considered at the present time. Whatever may be the ultimate conditions of power use, it is not now necessary to go further in the discussion than the rights granted to the various power companies now having charters. If all these charters were fully developed, about 1,200,000 horse-power would be available, or about thirty-five per cent. of the total energy of the Falls. It is not probable that such diversion of water would appreciably affect the appearance of the flow over the Falls. The eye judges a waterfall largely by two elements—height and width. The diversion of thirty-five per cent. of water from the crest of the Falls for power purposes would not influence the appearance of the Falls in either regard. By well-known laws in hydraulics, the actual change taking place would be a diminution in the depth of water at the crest of the Falls and consequently in the thickness of the falling sheet. It is questionable whether such a change in thickness would be sufficiently noticeable materially to impair the grandeur of the general outlook at Niagara. The surroundings and settings of the scene would remain as before, and the general expanse of water would be the same. The Whirlpool Rapids, which many people consider the equal of the Falls in interest and beauty, would remain as they always have been, since the water used for power purposes would be returned to the river above them.

There has been considerable fear expressed that any further diversion of water for power use would dry up the American Falls. It may here be stated that in the course of time the American Falls will become dry, regardless of the development of power. Ten times more water now passes over the Horseshoe Falls than over the American Falls, and the consequent scouring of the Canadian channel now evident will drain off more and more water from the American side. The ultimate salvation of the American Falls will be found in the plan proposed by one of the power companies, and offered to be carried out as a condition of its development. The plan is to dredge a wide channel in the reef which projects out into the middle of the river above the American Falls. This reef has very little water on it, and consequently it acts as a wing-dam, deflecting the water above the rapids over to the Canadian side of Goat Island. It would be a simple problem in hydraulic engineering to dredge a channel in this reef, so that more water could be restored to the American Falls than could possibly flow there now even without any diversion for power.

The economic side of the Niagara problem is a serious one, and it cannot be set aside as secondary to that of the scenic interests. It must be cleared of the prejudices which now discredit it, and its importance to the country at

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large must be recognized. Niagara Falls is a great continental asset, not only as a scene, but also as a source of power, and any fair adjustment between the two interests must be made upon the basis of a reasonable compromise. The wave of exaggerated sentimentalism now passing should not be allowed to sweep aside all reason, nor be the only thing considered.

PRESENT-DAY RUSSIA

THE aim of all reforming and revolutionary factors in Russia today is the definite abolishment of autocracy there. Autocracy is not a distinctly Russian product; it is an importation. Furthermore, autocracy is not a venerable institution; it is of comparatively recent origin. As M. Bérard asserts, "Czarism, that personification in one monarch of all powers, political, military, civil, religious, was imported, bit by bit, from abroad; external necessities implanted it, developed its prerogatives, made of it strength or weakness, according as these external necessities were themselves tightened or relaxed. . . . If we wish to find in our history of France a symbol or summary of the career of Czarism, we must think of the series of grandeurs and decadences which led Bonaparte from the humble beginnings of Brienne to the splendors of Austerlitz, then to the bloody declines of Eylau and Moscow, to the final fall at Waterloo." Professor Milyoukov also shows that autocracy is of recent origin, and explains how it has been maintained by elevating the lower classes and degrading the aristocrats, corresponding to its gradual importation, as M. Bérard says, "bit by bit, from abroad." Professor Milyoukov's conclusion is that, even if the preservation of the Russian State were any excuse for autocracy, it has now become as logically unnecessary as it is logically impossible.

After the Crimean War enthusiasm for a reorganized humanity and society sprang into being throughout Russia. At first, as Sir Donald Wallace reminds us, it was a vague, eclectic kind, and consequently could find satisfaction in certain administrative reforms which did not affect the essence of the autocratic power, the main pivot round which the Empire revolves. At present, on the contrary, it is precisely on this autocratic pivot that the reform enthusiasm is concentrated.

> Mere bureaucratic reforms can no longer give satisfaction. All sections, . . . with the exception of a small group of conservative doctrinaires, insist upon obtaining a controlling influence in the government of the country, and demand that the autocratic power, if not abolished, shall be limited by parliamentary institutions of a democratic type.

For the attainment of this end, the protagonists are either Moderates or Revolutionaries. Of them Sir Donald Wallace, of course, believes that the best prepared to undertake the functions and responsibilities of government are the Moderates, or Liberals. "If they hold power, Russia's future is assured," he declares. "If the Revolutionaries should win power, however, no man can say what the new Russia will be." The latter may not and perhaps should not win power, but they have already shed their blood in what, in its essence, is a holy cause. As Father Gapon says, this blood has fallen like warm rain upon the frozen soil of Russian life.

Opposing the two forces working for a change—the Moderates and Revolutionaries—is the reactionary element, comprising the court, church, military, and bureaucratic circles. The reactionaries are not idle. They would swing Russia back to autocracy. Last summer at Portsmouth Sir Donald Wallace pointed out to those who talked with him that in France '93 followed '89, and was in turn followed by an imperial reaction in the most extreme form.

Russia. By Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $5.
L'Empire Russe et le Tsarisme. Par Victor Bérard. Armand Colin, Paris.
Russia and Its Crisis. By Paul Milyoukov. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $3.
Russia from Within. By Alexander Ular. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.75.
The Story of My Life. By Father George Gapon. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.

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In order to avoid reaction, Russian progress must be sanely made, even if it be too slow to please the Revolutionaries. "There is but one hope for an extremely impressionable and endlessly restless people," he would add—a gradual political transition, a normal outgrowth of the people's past history and character. The evidences of such gradual transition, namely, the historical attempts at a constitutional monarchy and the reasons for their failure, are ably set forth by this author and by Professor Milyoukov, as are also the rise of Socialism, Communism, and Nihilism—the last named, though peculiar to Russia as a psychological disposition of mind, is, as a theory, undoubtedly of foreign extraction. In Russia, says Professor Milyoukov it was only the belated reverberation of a movement which had had its day in both France and Germany.

If tracing the development of autocracy is the chief feature of most recent books on Russia, it is interesting to distinguish the varying excellences and defects of those books. If Wallace's opinion of Russia, for instance, is noteworthy, so is a good critic's opinion of Wallace. Last summer at Portsmouth Professor Frederic de Martens, legal adviser to the Russian Embassy, said, discussing MM. Leroy-Beaulieu, Bérard, and other writers who had published books on Russia, "They are all interesting, but Wallace's 'Russia' is by far the most interesting and most reliable. His statements are trustworthy as to fact and his opinions are unprejudiced." This criticism from the distinguished Russian authority on international law is emphasized by a reading of the five new chapters which Sir Donald Wallace has added to the original edition of his "Russia." In view of recent events the titles of these chapters do not surprise us: "Territorial Expansion and Foreign Policy," "Industrial Progress and the Proletariat," "Socialist Propaganda," "The Revolutionary Movement in its Latest Phase," "The Present Situation." These, added to the subjects of former chapters, indicate the scope of a work to which Sir Donald has brought the results of a close observation extending over a period of thirty-five years, eight of which were spent entirely in Russia. The chief feature emphasized in the new edition (published in a stout octavo volume of nearly seven hundred clearly printed pages) seems to be that Russian progress has been accomplished almost entirely on the old lines. In foreign policy the old principle of guiding expansive forces where there is least resistance has been followed; as to home policy, in the central and local administrations a reactionary attitude has been maintained; the Church has remained in its usual somnolent condition; though a grave agricultural crisis affecting both peasants and proprietors has begun, it is merely the development of conditions described by Sir Donald in his first edition; even the strides made in the manufacturing industries were all in the direction predicted by the most competent observers; the revolutionary movement of our day, he declares, has the same aim as the older movements.

Whether he records his traveler's impressions, his social studies, his historical or political essays, Sir Donald writes calmly and judicially. Somewhat different is the impression produced by M. Bérard, though he is also alive to the necessity of explaining the connection of past with present history. Informative and illuminative as is his book, it is so in less degree than is Sir Donald's, because it shows less proof of direct, personal knowledge of the country and people described. M. Bérard constructs a great edifice of ingenious philosophical speculation, it is true, but apparently upon a comparatively slight foundation of solid material.

This criticism is not to be applied to the contents of Professor Milyoukov's well-printed book, published under the somewhat misleading title, "Russia and Its Crisis." The title hardly does justice to a work which for the most part follows the historical development of successive phases in Russian national life to the present crisis. Of course, in any discussion or understanding of that crisis the historical background must of necessity be taken into consideration: in this respect the book has special value because it affords information not given elsewhere; furthermore, the facts are pre-

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sented with a seemingly engaging fairness and impartiality; finally, there are apt comparisons at various points between Russian and American conditions. No student of Russian political economy and sociology should be without this book, despite its author's amusing though at times helpful deference, in the spelling and transliteration of names, to supposed American notions as to pronunciation. Like the works before mentioned, this book is reinforced by good maps. The work has an added interest since Professor Milyoukov's lectures at the University of Chicago and since his recent arrest. He had been bold enough to publish an article setting forth that, while the governmental scheme of reform was defective, it yet constituted an important historical landmark and was certainly a progressive step on the path toward freedom. He appealed to all parties to participate in the elections, in the hope of making Parliament a real means towards the realization of the desires of all liberal Russians. While the arrest may have been one of autocracy's last expiring cries, it is characteristic, for in Russia the punishment rarely fits the crime.

M. Ular's original can hardly be more picturesque than in the English translation. This writer is always picturesque, whether he is abusive, malicious, hysterical, or merely lively, entertaining, and full of surprises. By his intemperance of language he discredits his own book; yet, though one would not seriously study it, one may find in it some suggestiveness. According to this author, any Czar is "an anachronism who theoretically claims omnipotence, while in reality he is merely the fulcrum of a caste of tyrants." But poor Nicholas II., says M. Ular, represents not only this but also something more personal:

> His mental content is a mere figure of speech; from his earliest youth his tutors were well aware of the fact; one of his military instructors declared openly that "Nicholas II. would have been exempted from military service for insufficiency of intellect in any country by any army doctor." Yet he is deemed capable of governing the Russian Empire!

Father Gapon's language is less intemperate and more convincing. After a deeply interesting account of the events in connection with "Bloody Sunday" he says, referring to the chances of revolutionary success:

> If the Czar would promptly display some wisdom, of which during his reign there has as yet been no sign, and if, instead of vague promises, undefined and unguaranteed, he would immediately grant to the Russian people the fullest freedom to work out their own destinies, the dynasty might possibly be saved to enjoy the position of a limited monarchy. But what reason have we to hope for such a manly and intelligent act on the part of the Czar?

These five books are worth reading; two are pre-eminently worth reading. All five authors show that autocracy is crumbling. It is true that the Czar has already fulfilled, in part, his promises as to freedom of belief, speech, meeting, association, the press, and the convocation of a national Parliament. But these concessions, valuable as fundamentals of liberty, afford only a standing-ground from which the Russian people may obtain further demands. Their demands are just. No self-respecting people will ever be satisfied without the grant of immediate legislation by the people and the unimpeded course of justice secured by a Constitution at least as liberal as was sanctioned by a Czar in the case of Bulgaria a quarter-century ago.

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Comment on Current Books

Ancient Records of Egypt

During the past quarter-century a complete revolution in our knowledge of Egyptian grammar and philology has taken place. Until Dr. Breasted's history of Egypt appeared, of which the first volume is now before us, these results had not been applied in their entirety to the understanding of the historical documents of Egypt as a whole. Of course one of the main purposes of Dr. Breasted's work is the attainment of this end. His well-printed history is based upon the entire series of written documents from which we draw our knowledge of the career of the Nile Valley peoples as a nation until the beginning of permanent foreign domination at the advent of the Persians, 525 B.C. The first volume of Dr. Breasted's work includes an account of Egyptian history down to the eighteenth dynasty. Of the well-known names in that early period a chief interest attaches to that of Menes; Dr. Breasted agrees with many others in placing his reign about 3400 B.C. (Ancient Records of Egypt. Collected and Edited by James H. Breasted. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $3.)

Benares the Sacred City

This well written and sympathetic book describing the Holy City of India will appeal first of all to those who have walked those narrow streets and entered the dim temples and watched the marvelous crowds at the ghats. The author is no casual visitor, but a student of Hinduism, broad-minded but not weak-minded, as is too often the case among writers upon Eastern subjects. He enters into the spirit of the worshipers of Shiva, comprehending the essence of their religion, yet discriminating against the tremendous errors and degenerate sensualism of their practice. Particularly interesting is the chapter upon recent exploration at Sarnath, the birthplace of Buddhism, and its grave, in India. Wonderful sculpture, notably a beautiful seated Buddha, has been recently discovered, corroborating some ancient Chinese records of the treasures of old Sarnath. The pooja rites along the sacred river, the symbols of religion, the crowds of devotees, the dingy, tiny temples, dominated by the arrogance of a great mosque, the whole hurrying, chattering, gayly clad throng, pass before the mind's eye in these vivid descriptions, well supported by a profusion of excellent pictures. The English Government has succeeded to some extent in cleansing the filthy old city, and by strict sanitary laws the former outbreaks of cholera are largely prevented. If one could look into one of the sacred wells from which the devout sip water offered by the priest, no further reason for devastating disease following the Indian religious festival would be needed. But, as the author says and proves, the interest in Benares is absorbing; and if the city were forbidden, as is Lhasa, doubtless Europeans would know far more of its fascinations and ancient legends. If people would read such books as these instead of the superficial, worthless writings of "globe-trotters," there would be far less dangerous ignorance as to Oriental religions abroad in America. (Benares, the Sacred City. By E. B. Havell, A.R.C.A. Blackie & Son, London, England. $3.50.)

Central Tian-Shan Mountains

Dr. Gottfried Merzbacher has laid students in geography and geology under tribute by the publication of his well printed, indexed, and mapped "Central Tian-Shan Mountains," for the volume describes some hitherto unexplored glacier regions. The explorer's route encircled the Tian-Shan range, but he spent much of his time around the highest peak of that range, the Khan-Tengri; though many summits of the range reach a height of over twenty thousand feet and a few even fifteen hundred feet higher, Khan-Tengri overtops them all. Dr. Merzbacher's style is, unfortunately, not picturesque or "popular," but this should hardly be expected, since his book is really addressed to specialists and advanced students. Incidentally the volume discloses some of the fine work accomplished by the Russian Geographical Society, and gives to us a new appreciation of the ready aid, characteristically Russian, granted not only to natives but also to foreigners, in exploring some of the little-known regions in the vast empire and on its borders. A recent example of this aid was brought to the world's attention by Dr. Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer, in his latest publication. (Central Tian-Shan Mountains. By Gottfried Merzbacher. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.50.)

Common Sense Gardens

This is notable among the many recent books on this subject because of the excellency of its photographs and the simple and sensible way in which advice and information are conveyed to the reader. The author remarks in his preface that "when a

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man buys a place in the country, the first thing his wife thinks of is a garden, and it is generally the last thing that he makes." Lazy husbands will have little excuse for continued neglect if they read this book. The hints are such as may be followed, as a rule, by people of ordinary means, and it is to the credit of the work that it always prefers the sensible and practical thing to that which is a fad of the day or which leans toward ostentation. (Common Sense Gardens: How to Plan and How to Plant Them. By Cornelius V. V. Sewell. The Grafton Press, New York. $2, net.)

An Early Anarchist The bygone days of the Brook Farm, New Harmony, and kindred experiments in communism are recalled by the appearance of a little biography of Josiah Warren, whom the biographer, not without reason, regards as the first American anarchist. But Warren's anarchism was of a type different from that exemplified in the terrorists of to-day; was, in fact, philosophical anarchism in its purest form. Upholding the doctrine of the sovereignty of the individual and the abolition of all government but self-government, and cherishing the idea that the restraints of government are not needed to induce each individual to exercise his liberty with due regard to the rights of others, Warren spent many years in the endeavor to demonstrate in practice the validity of his theories. While Robert Owen was striving to convince the world of the blessings of communism, Warren was with equal zeal establishing settlements based on the most extreme individualism, and engaging in various other experiments along the same line. In the nature of things he was certain to meet with failure; but his life, as every reader of his biography will acknowledge, can hardly be deemed wasted. The story of his activities, which centered mainly in Ohio and New York, is entertainingly told by Mr. Bailie, who prefaces his narrative with a brief exposition of the "anarchist spirit," written from the point of view of a sympathizer. (Josiah Warren. By William Bailie. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.)

History in Scott's Novels The only wonder is that this obviously fascinating subject has never before been treated in just this way. The author takes up no fewer than fifteen of Scott's novels, all of which have a positive historical interest. In each he explains the allusions, expands the references to historical facts, and in general connects romance with actuality. The book will have a strong interest to all lovers of Scott, even though they may not in every instance confirm the author's assertion of Sir Walter's impartiality when describing periods of political and religious excitement. The book ends with a description of the famous reception of George the Fourth in Scotland, in which Sir Walter took an extraordinary interest. (History in Scott's Novels. By the Hon. Albert S. G. Canning. A. Wessels Company, New York.)

The Modern Home This is a work of English origin, but in its main features may well prove useful to American builders of country homes and cottages. The contributors are men of standing in the professions of architecture, sanitation, decoration, and arts and crafts. The illustrations, both colored and black and white, are a delight to the eye and abound in suggestions to home-makers. (The Modern Home. Text by W. H. Bidlake, M.A., Halsey Ricardo, and John Cash. Edited by Walter Shaw Sparrow. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York.)

Nicanor, Teller of Tales A pure romance, in well-sustained style, by C. Bryson Taylor, who wrote "In the Dwellings of the Wilderness," a weird and unusual story. Nicanor inherits the bewitching talent of his ancestor Melchior, and wanders out into the world led by his gift of story-telling. Varia, the daughter of a Roman lord, in whose house Nicanor finds himself a slave, is a novel and charming character in fiction. The slave girl Eldrie influences the wild nature of Nicanor toward nobler thoughts, and the two women mold his life anew. The decorated pages and colored plates will attract some eyes to the book. (Nicanor, Teller of Tales. By C. Bryson Taylor. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.50.)

The Oman History of England In The Outlook of May 5 appeared a review of the first two published volumes of the Oman co-operative history of England, which is to be completed in six volumes covering all aspects of the subject from the earliest times to the battle of Waterloo. "England under the Normans and Angevins," the third volume now issued but the second in chronological order, is by H. W. C. Davis, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and the author of a life of Charlemagne. Like Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Innes, the writers of the preceding volumes, Mr. Davis possesses a most attractive style. It is less vivacious than theirs, but it is limpid and fluent, and it unites with mastery of sources to give a picturesque and convincing presentation of that period of vast disorder out of which England emerged to enter upon

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the truly English phase of her development. Mr. Davis's sympathies are manifestly with the native element, and perhaps as a result of this he scarcely does justice to some of the notable foreigners who were responsible at once for the spoliation and regeneration of England. He likewise says all too little of the revelations of the national genius in industry, art, literature, and social life. What he does say of these, especially in his chapter on the England of de Montfort's day, is so much to the point as to increase our regret that he has permitted political and military matters virtually to monopolize his attention. His work further suffers from carelessness in identifying persons and places, and from eccentricities in the spelling of proper names. But when these objections have been advanced, practically all that is possible in the way of censure has been passed. On every page Mr. Davis gives evidence of being abreast of modern scholarship. In the discussion of Magna Charta, for example, he refers to the views held by such recent investigators as Mr. Jenks and Mr. McKechnie. But he has gone beyond the research of others, and where his own studies lead him to dissent he dissents without hesitation. Always he is at pains to make clear the inner significance of movements and events. Particularly noteworthy are his accounts of the foreign policy of the Norman kings, the long conflict between Church and Crown, the constitutional development of the period, the conquest of Ireland, the crusading of Richard, and the decline of feudalism. (A History of England. Edited by C. W. C. Oman, M.A. Vol. II. England under the Normans and Angevins. By H. W. C. Davis. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3, net.)

The Private War

In the wonderful by-world where novelists allow their imagination free play, such wars as are described in this lively tale can occur—nowhere else. The brave and resourceful American lover, the astute English friend, and the wily German fortune-hunter circle about a lovely American widow of an English baronet. It is but an incident to be expected that Nihilists, Russian torpedo destroyers, and brilliant naval encounters enliven the progress of the love story. In spite of, or because of, several violent deaths the lovers are united—in the end. The awful tragedy of a young mulatto girl awakens the schoolmaster to action, and, moved by powerful moral conviction, he sacrifices his chances as a political leader to his convictions. In this way he incurs the hatred of his political opponents, and suffers for his courage. The author is in dead earnest, and those readers who range fiction under the banner of "art for art's sake" will find but little to attract them in this somber tale. (The Private War. By Louis Joseph Vance. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Recollections of a Pennsylvanian

The two handsome volumes in which Colonel A. K. McClure has brought together his many and varied recollections of the men he has known and the political conflicts in which he has participated since he first entered into the public life of Pennsylvania, more than half a century ago, will be found of great general interest. Naturally, political leaders and occurrences chiefly engage the Colonel's attention, but his survey also embraces many themes relating to the social, industrial, and educational development of the State—*e.g.*, the social conditions of the 'forties, the advent of the locomotive and the extension of the railway, Pennsylvania in the Civil War, the Molly Maguire outrages, and the opening up of the oil fields. Throughout his work the element of human interest is strong, its distinctive characteristics, in fact, being its striking pen-portraits and its abundance of illustrative anecdote. It need scarcely be pointed out that the time has not arrived for viewing in correct perspective much of which Colonel McClure writes; and in numerous instances his judgments of men and events are obviously—and inevitably—colored by personal feeling. But he shows an evident desire to be just, and usually writes with such restraint that blame must yield to admiration. Certainly he has performed a most useful task in thus, in the evening of his days, shedding new light on many important facts in the history of Pennsylvania, and preserving in permanent form much that would otherwise pass undeservedly from sight. (Old-Time Notes of Pennsylvania. By A. K. McClure, LL.D. The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia. 2 vols. $8 per set.)

Samuel J. Mills

It is quite time for this memorial of one of the most fruitful lives ever lived on American soil, a short life indeed, ending in its thirty-fifth year, but of still expanding, world-wide influence. As a "path-finder, pioneer, and promoter" of missionary enterprise at home and abroad, singularly humble, intensely energetic, Mills's life fulfilled his resolve: "I intend, God willing, the little influence I have shall be felt in every State in the Union." This biography, by the pastor of the Congregational church in Torrington, Connecticut, where Mills was born, gives large space to his important work as a missionary and organizer of missionary work in this country, his agency in which is not so well known as

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is the leading part he bore in the initiation of foreign missions. The approaching centennial commemoration of this at Williams College, where Mills, a student there, unfurled the banner that has been carried round the world, gives especial timeliness to the appearance of this inspiring memorial. (Samuel J. Mills. By Thomas C. Richards. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. $1.25, net.)

Simple Annals Mrs. Blundell's short stories always have the charm of simplicity and naturalness. Those included in this volume are no exception to the rule. They deal for the most part with women in the humbler grades of village life. Many of them are extremely touching; yet the author's true and fine sense of humor is evident throughout. The book is charmingly printed, as have been others of this author's collected tales. (Simple Annals. By M. E. Francis. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Suggestive Essays This group of ten papers by Professor Egan deals largely with various aspects of Shakespeare's work, with a comment on the greatest of his contemporaries, Lope de Vega and Calderon. The delightful paper on "The Ghost in Hamlet" is an example of Professor Egan's fresh, unacademic, and individual way of dealing with a well-worn theme. Whether one agrees with him or not—and many of his readers will certainly differ from his contention that Hamlet's character lacks the kingly element—he is never dull or commonplace. In his easiest and most familiar moments his Irish wit and brightness do not fail him. With his criticism as a whole most readers will be in sympathy, because it is founded on common sense, largely free from vagaries, and based on knowledge of life rather than on theories of life. The keynote of his criticism is to be found in the statement that the English of the sixteenth century regarded a play as a play and not as an enigma or problem. "All the reconstructions of the Elizabethan playhouse show us that the auditors went there to weep or laugh, to love the hero and to detest the villain, to applaud the good and to hate the bad." Professor Egan has good ground for his contention that a large majority of the English people in the time when the plays were written were Catholic in their feelings, their traditions, and their attitude toward religious matters. This is a fact often forgotten in interpreting the plays, and it is a fact that has a great deal of relevancy, as Professor Egan points out in his discussion of Hamlet. On the other hand, Professor Egan, who is one of the leading professors in the Catholic University at Washington, strongly opposes the views of those Catholics, like Father Bowden, who attempted to show that Shakespeare was a Catholic dramatist, and emphasizes the fact that there was a large element of paganism as well as of Christianity in Shakespeare. The essay on "Lyrism in Shakespeare's Comedies" is a very charming bit of work, which focuses in a very definite way the main thesis of this group of essays, which is to persuade readers to see Shakespeare as a dramatist, not as a propounder of problems, and to enjoy his work as literature, not as philosophy. (The Ghost in Hamlet, and Other Essays in Comparative Literature. By Maurice Francis Egan, LL.D. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.)

Visionaries of Empire William Horace Brown's "The Glory Seekers" finds justification for existence in the fact that it deals with certain striking phases of American history that have been neglected by the great majority of our historians. Its subject matter is the several armed invasions of Spanish territory in Mexico and Florida made by American adventurers during the closing decades of the eighteenth and the opening decades of the nineteenth century, and the alleged attempts to sever the Western States from the rest of the Union. Its scope thus ranges from the Wilkinson and Aaron Burr conspiracies to the Texan-Santa Fé expedition, and includes many stirring and romantic episodes. Mr. Brown has taken full advantage of the opportunity for a spirited and thrilling narrative, but he has also sacrificed critical caution to the desire to be entertaining, and his work is further marred by a flippancy of style strangely out of keeping with the theme and in itself conducing to weaken any claim his book may have to serious consideration. It is annoying, too, to find him writing with dogmatic cocksureness of questions which are still, and probably always will remain, unsolved problems. His book, however, should be the means of reviving interest in personages and events unduly slighted and all but forgotten, and for this he must be given due credit. (The Glory Seekers. By William Horace Brown. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.50, net.)

The Woman in the Alcove This is a fairly good detective story, but not the best. The secret is well preserved by the author until the last; but the complications and incidents are so impossible as to tax even the imagination of the reader. To those, however, who are interested in tracking a mystery to its solution the story will serve the intended purpose of an hour's recreation. (The Woman in the Alcove. By Anna Katharine Green. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Indiana. $1.50.)

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Letters to The Outlook

CANNOT MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP BE AVOIDED?

We hear on all sides the rallying cries of those favoring municipal ownership, forming clans of varying sizes. These may later be welded into effective political organizations to further State and National ownership of all public utilities. The abuses and sometimes political crimes committed by uncontrolled and practically untaxed corporations operating public utilities have come to be so well known that some remedy is sure to be tried.

Public ownership advocates are now certainly the most popular physicians in prescribing for the ills of the body politic. The remedy they proclaim, however, seems so dangerous to all but the Socialists, and involves so great practical inconvenience to the patient, that even a country doctor may be justified in looking over his "simples" and suggesting that one of them be tried before in despair surgery is resorted to. Can we not avoid the Scylla of graft and the Charybdis of Socialism by steering another course? If the corporations operating public utilities, such as railroads, street railways, water, electric, gas, telephone and telegraph companies, paid their fair share of the expenses of government, whether municipal, State, or National, it is most unlikely that any overwhelming desire would arise for subjecting them to either government control or ownership.

The chief difficulty seems to arise from the fact that those who often obtain great wealth by securing a franchise and capitalizing its value give in return practically nothing back to the public which by its necessities and use creates this value. In addition, the outrageous and corrupt methods so often pursued to obtain or maintain such franchise, whereby public officials or representatives are made into faithless servants, produce distortion of vision and disorders which seem to threaten the very existence of popular government.

The simple remedy suggested here may appear paradoxical but be none the less effective. It is:

LET THE PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS TAX THEMSELVES, *with the condition or proviso only that the municipal, State, or National Government may and shall compel any public service corporation to grant, convey, and transfer all its rights, franchises, and property unto any other company which will pay therefor ten per cent. above their assessed valuation, such ten per cent. to go into the appropriate public treasury.*

The tax rate being fixed as that on real estate, or say at one and one-half to two per cent., and schedules giving details of property included in the valuation made by the company itself being accessible as public records, it seems entirely possible that the enterprise or cupidity of opposing promoters and financiers will protect the public and such provisions work automatically.

Underlying bonds might be deducted from the price to be paid and remain undisturbed if the actual values of the property securing them justified this course. The greater the present or prospective value of the franchise, the greater would be the return to the public either in taxes on at least ninety per cent. of total values or in the ten per cent. profit on a transfer where the property had been undervalued for taxation and bought by a competitor.

There can be no special difficulty in working out the practical details of such a plan. There could be no better contrivance for "wringing the water" out of public service corporation stocks. And if effective in its main purpose, it would surely avoid grave dangers into which we are hurrying. The intention is only to suggest an idea for discussion; it may later be advocated more elaborately.

WILLARD SPAULDING.

Wilmington, Delaware.

THE JACOB A. RIIS HOUSE

To the children's friends:

The summer is at the door and with it our removal to Twin Island. This year we move altogether. Our house in Henry Street, New York, will be practically closed through the hot season, while workmen are making our old quarters over. They have needed it long. There was never a night in winter that we did not think with a shiver of the thirteen stoves going in the house, not counting the oil stove that vainly strove to heat the office and only made it smell bad. When cold weather comes again, we shall have steam heat; we shall have electric light, and shower-baths, and—a gymnasium. This last is a secret. I ought not to tell, I suppose, that it is being built by Theodore Roosevelt's friends as a birthday gift in his name to the children of the East Side, but who can keep such a secret? It is to be called after him, and we will open it on his birthday in October, please

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God, and henceforth it shall stand sowing a seed of manliness among the young that shall bear a crop of good citizenship in the days to come for which New York shall be a heavy debtor to the men who built it. And not one cent of debt will there be on the house when once more it opens its doors. If you do not know that story, our head worker will send it to you, with a picture of her in whose memory loving friends did this thing and made us very happy.

So the future is bright with new promise and with new responsibilities. We shall come to that by and by; meanwhile we ask our friends to remember our children and their mothers—yes, and their grandmothers too—while you are planning for mountain and seashore. Last year our fresh-air work took $2,167 from our purse, but for that sum 2,122 persons were made happy, a good many of them on Twin Island. To some of them it is their real embodiment of heaven, and if you saw how, year by year, they come back for their holiday, happier, more helpful to one another, mothers, fathers, and children (for over Sunday the fathers and the big boys come up to keep the family company, instead of being banished to the hot streets), you would think that at least Twin Island was a way station on the road to heaven. So do we. Every summer day brings evidence. Little Jacob out on the rocks, where the sea is washing up, flatly refusing to come into the house when they were entertaining a band, because he "could hear the old band in the city any time," but the whisper of wind and wave only once a year on Twin Island, made some of us think last year. If you knew Jacob's tenement, you wouldn't object to have Twin Island called the Half-way House.

We shall need three thousand dollars for our summer work this year, and when we looked in the purse the other day we found there bills for three hundred, with nothing to pay them. But we have only to say it; then the money comes. So we are not concerned about that; we shall just open our house and look to our friends to justify our faith. And one thing: do not forget that we want you all to come to 48 Henry Street on the 27th of October next, when we will tell you all we did with your money, and other things besides which you will be glad to hear. JACOB A. RIIS, President.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Howard University, the noted institution for the higher education of colored youth, located at the National capital, has recently been brought into unpleasant prominence by reason of the unsatisfactory administration of its affairs. The trustees have accepted the resignation of the Rev. John Gordon, D.D., who served as President for the past two and a half years, and designated Professor F. W. Fairfield, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, as acting President. Professor Fairfield is a nephew of Professor Fairfield, of Oberlin College, and has been connected with Howard University for more than thirty years. He is most highly esteemed by students, faculty, alumni, and trustees, by reason of his proved adaptability to the work and his signal devotion to the aims and ideals of the University.

The unfortunate commotion incident to a change of administration has not affected the regular workings of the institution. The attendance is unusually large, and the students and faculty are prosecuting the work with vigor and enthusiasm.

Professor Kelly Miller, setting forth the work of Howard University in a recent book entitled "From Servitude to Service," says: "Howard University is primarily an institution of liberal culture. It has Preparatory, Normal, Collegiate, Law, Medical, and Theological Departments, the variety and extent of whose curricula are quite abreast with the approved standards in similar institutions for the white race. There are chemical, physical, biological, dental, and pharmaceutical laboratories, and its general appliances and facilities of instruction are up to the requirements of the educational world. There are about one thousand students in the University, making the largest body of negro pupils to be found anywhere in the world pursuing the higher academic and professional studies." Professor Miller maintains that Howard University is a standing refutation of the charge that the money spent upon the higher education of the negro has been wasted. He says: "Howard University has cost between two and three million dollars for foundation and maintenance during the past thirty-nine years. As returns on this investment it has sent into the world (in round numbers) two hundred ministers of the Gospel, nine hundred physicians, dentists, and pharmacists, four hundred lawyers, four hundred teachers, one hundred trained nurses, and five hundred men and women with general collegiate and academic training, together with ten thousand sometime pupils who have shared the partial benefit of its courses. These twenty-five hundred graduates and ten thousand sometime pupils are to be found in every State and Territory, in every town and county where the negro population resides, and are filling the highest stations allotted to colored men, as well as the humbler spheres of sacrificial service."

* *

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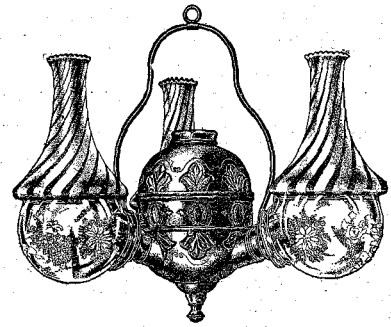

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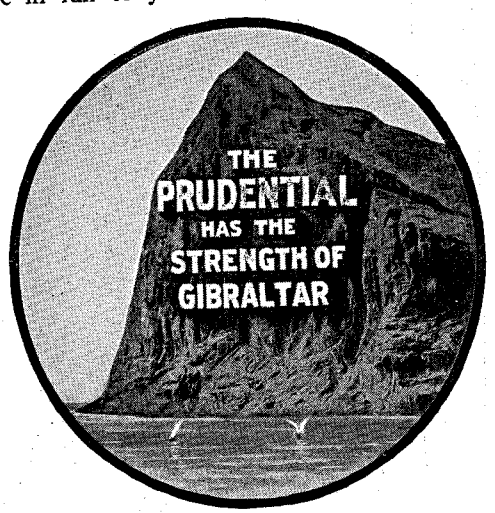

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